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TASS Assesses Nuclear, Space Arms Talks

LD1908214888 Moscow TASS in English 2119 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Geneva August 19 TASS—A regular plenary meeting of the delegations at the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms was held past week. The meeting was called by the Soviet side. The delegation of the USSR declared again for the need to keep up a due pace at the talks needed for an early conclusion of the drafting of an agreement on 50-per cent cuts in strategic offensive arms in conditions of strict observance of the ABM Treaty.

The USSR delegation submitted new compromise proposals aimed at coordinating the provisions of a protocal to a future agreement on the observance of the ABM Treaty and non-withdrawal from the treaty for a specified period of time. The protocol which will envisage measures of verification, confidence building and predictablity of actions is called upon to make the sides confident about the observance of the commitments under the agreement and the ABM Treaty.

When the questions of strategic offensive arms limitation and reduction were discussed, the Soviet side paid special attention to the problem of verification of the observance of commitments with regard to all types of strategic offensive arms to which the drafted treaty will apply.

The radical Soviet proposals for the limitation of longe-range submarine-launched cruise missiles (SLCMS) with appropriate verification, advanced at the previous round, were confirmed in this context. The Soviet side urged the U.S. delegation to embark on their businesslike discussions and to reach agreement on them.

The USSR delegation tabled two more important compromise proposals on the drafted protocol on inspections. Combined with wordings tabled by the USSR delegation past week, the new Soviet proposals make it possible to reach agreement shortly in full volume on those sections of the protocol on inspections that regulate the activity of the sides for continual observation of the facilities producing strategic offensive arms.

The USSR delegation also declared for intensifying work in the subgroup on the drafting of a protocol on the conversion or elimination of strategic offensive arms, in the framework of which the Soviet side tabled during the current round a whole number of proposals taking into account the viewpoint of the U.S. delegation and providing a good basis for reaching agreement upon disputed provisions.

As to the work of the group on space arms, it is still hindered because of the striving of the U.S. side to alter in the spirit of the so-called "broader" interpretation the Washington agreement on the observance of the ABM Treaty and not withdrawing from it for a specified period of time.

U.S. 'Unwilling' To Discuss Arms Problems

LD1908224688 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] [Announcer] The senior Soviet arms negotiator at the Geneva talks on strategic arms reduction, Ambassador Aleksey Obukhov, has criticized the U.S. side for its unwillingness to discuss problems in a businesslike manner. He said that merely declaring one's readiness to work constructively wasn't enough. Here is Yuriy Minayev of our staff looking at these problems of the arms reduction process.

[Minayev] Since 12 July, when the negotiations in Geneva were resumed, the Soviet Union has advanced several new proposals, and Aleksey Obukhov said the two sides haven't really discussed them because of the unwillingness of the U.S. side even to discuss the proposals. What can be behind this unwillingness? Well, one factor is probaly the presidential election campaign now in full swing in the United States. There is naturally uncertainty over who will be the next president, Mr Dukakis or Mr Bush, and it has become clear from their speeches that there are certain differences in their approach to disarmament issues.

But there are also other developments that can seriously hinder the negotiations on strategic arms reduction. I mean the radar system under construction at the Royal Air Force base in Fylingdales and the operation radar at the U.S. air base in Thule, Greenland, which pose a threat to the Anti- Ballistic Missile Treaty. Both systems are deployed outside U.S. territory, thus violating this treaty which restricts both Soviet and the United States' defenses against nuclear missiles, and for this reason the ABM Treaty is of great importance assuring an ABM status quo, absolutely vital to the Geneva negotiations.

According to JANE'S DEFENSE WEEKLY, the new radar at Fylingdales, located about 200 miles north of London, is to cover the Mediterranean, the Middle East and North Africa, and would be able to track Soviet sea-launched ballistics missiles. This would be a direct violation of U.S commitments under the ABM Treaty, which prohibits ABM-capable radars except in certain specified cases.

[Announcer] Speaking to newsmen, Ambassador Obukhov also accused the United States of refusing to discuss control of sea-based longer-range missiles. By talking about difficulties of verification the United States is obviously trying to have sea-based missiles left beyond the framework of the treaty on 50-percent cuts in strategic weapons. In that event, this particular channel of the arms race would remain open, which would practically reduce to nil the importance of nuclear disarmament agreements, both the existing and those yet to be achieved. In the final analysis, these agreements are aimed at preventing a nuclear attack. If sea-based missiles are retained, the threat of their use will still be there. As for the difficulties of verification, if the Soviet

Union's proposals were accepted, the problem would at least be easier to solve, above all in the case of inspection of naval ships and munitions plants manufacturing sea-based cruise missiles. Now, why is it that the United States shows a negative stand on the issue? Here is one opinion from the chief of the Soviet General Staff, General Nikolay Chervov.

[Begin Chervov recording, in Russian with superimposed English translation] The reason is that the United States and NATO have a large advantage in naval forces over the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact nations. The buildup of naval forces, including those in the northern seas, continues. Among the most dangerous practices are those of equipping U.S warships with sea-based longer-range cruise missiles. This class of missiles is meant for reaching targets on Soviet territory and in the Warsaw Pact countries. Naturally, this course of events cannot but cause concern on our part. [end recording]

Karpov Comments on ABM Treaty Review Talks

LD2008125288 Moscow TASS in English 1218 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] Geneva August 20 TASS—The Soviet delegation led by Viktor Karpov, a department head, member of the USSR Foreign Ministry Collegium, arrived in Geneva today for a meeting with representatives of the United States to review the treaty on the limitation of anti-ballistic missile systems (ABM), which is held regularly once in five years.

"We hold that this review should lead to a strengthening of the ABM Treaty which has a key significance for ensuring further progress in the field of disarmament and in working out a treaty on a 50 per cent reduction in strategic offensive armaments of the USSR and the United States," Karpov told journalists at Geneval airport. "The principled importance of the ABM Treaty in nuclear arms limitation, in enhancing strategic stability and international security commits the sides to display a careful attitude to it, the readiness to take into account each other's interests and concern."

"The Soviet representatives have explicit instructions to act in this constructive spirit," he went on. "We are prepared to demonstrate in practice our consistent adherence to the ABM Treaty, the determination to sustain and enhance its viability and effectiveness."

"The upcoming discussions should not be confrontational. Both sides should strive for the quest for mutually acceptable solutions to their questions, making a vigorous use of the mechanism of consultations that has shaped up and was tested in practice, specifically, within the framework of the standing consultative commission."

The experience of preparing and concluding the Treaty on Eliminating Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, and other Soviet-U.S. accords bears witness that given a sincere desire and good will the sides can achieve mutual understanding and agreement on most involved problems. We hope exactly for this also at the upcoming review together with American representatives of the operation of the ABM Treaty," Karpov concluded.

Cooperation on Nuclear Tests Discussed

LD2108220088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 21 Aug 88

[From the "International Panorama" program presented by Gennadiy Gerasimov]

[Text] Here is another explosion, a nuclear one this time. You may say there is nothing particularly new in this. What is new is that it was a joint Soviet-U.S. experiment. There was a time when we—and sometimes the Americans, too—did not report nuclear blasts at all. Now our scientists are working together on additional measures for monitoring [kontrol] nuclear explosions. We offered our seismic method, and in this case it operated with precision and the instruments registered the relevant data. The Americans offered their method, which is more expensive and complex and which requires that specialists be present at the testing area, the so-called hydrodynamic method.

In any case, our scientists are cooperating. There is much work to do, there is great mutual understanding, and everybody stressses openness in this sphere, which was once very sensitive. I will mention, as an example, the fact that more than 90 U.S. specialists already have visited our testing area near Semipalatinsk, and a joint experiment will be carried out there, too. Our approaches to nuclear explosions, however, remain fundamentally different. We regard all this as a step toward a total ban on nuclear tests. The Americans so far have been unable to accept this idea of a total ban. They maintain that tests will be needed as long as nuclear arms continue to be relied upon.

Yazov Article Discusses European Security

LD2008152388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2017 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] New York, 19 Aug (TASS)—How will the process of strengthening security in Europe develop on the wave of the historic agreement between the USSR and the United States on intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles? The September issue of the journal BULLETIN OF ATOMIC SCIENTISTS is devoted completely to this topical problem.

Authoritative specialists in the military field from Denmark, Great Britain, the FRG, Netherlands, Poland, Sweden, and the United States take part in the discussion of its different aspects in the pages of the journal. The central article in the issue is an article by USSR Defense Minister Army General Dmitriy Yazov, written at the request of the journal's editorial board.

The Soviet military leader tells the American reader in detail about the program for the staged reduction of nuclear weapons and also of conventional armaments and armed forces in central Europe, which has been proposed by the USSR. The author explains the essence of the deep changes in the nature of the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact states, changes which are in keeping with the new political thinking and which pursue the objective of preventing war. The article exposes convincingly the philosophy of "flexible response" and "nuclear deterrence" which is aggressive and dangerous for the cause of peace and which forms the basis for the military doctrine of the United States and of NATO.

Petrovskiy, Canadian Discuss Arms Issues

LD2008152888 Moscow TASS in English 1219 GMT 20 Aug 88

[text] Moscow August 20 TASS—Soviet-Canadian consultations on disarmament issues in the context of the upcoming 43rd session on disarmament were held in the USSR Foreign Ministry Friday. Douglas Roche, ambassador on disarmament of the Canadian Foreign Ministry, who arrived to conduct the consultations, had talks at the Department of International Organisations, at the Department on Arms Limitation and was received by Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy foreign minister of the USSR.

Scientists Discuss Disarmament at Erice Symposium

LD1908223488 Moscow TASS in English 2158 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Erice (Sicily) August 19 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksey Golyaev:

Problems of peace and disarmament, prospects for the disarmament process in the light of the Soviet-American Treaty on Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and destruction of chemical arsenals were put on the agenda of an international scientific symposium which opens here today. Prominent scientists from the United States, the USSR, China, India, Japan and some European countries arrived at the small Sicilian town to participate in it. The Soviet delegation is led by Academician Yevgeniy Velikhov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Scientists have gathered at the scientific and enlightenment centre named after Ettore Maiorana in Erice for the eighth time. Seminars are held under the chair of Professor Antonino Zichichi, well-known Italian physicist. The main theme of the current seminar is "From Confrontation to Cooperation".

Participants will give special attention to destruction of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles in line with the provisions of the INF Treaty. In this connection they express the hope for a successful completion of work to conclude an agreement on a 50-per-cent cut in strategic missiles.

Velikhov Addresses Conference

LD2008211988 Moscow TASS in English 2102 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] Erice (Sicily) August 20 TASS—TASS correspondent Aleksey Golyaev reports:

The white dove of peace is part of the emblem of this city where prominent scientists from various countries are discussing now the vital problems of humanity: how to reliably block the arms race, how to prevent the spreading of the arms race to outer space and how to ban chemical weapons.

An international symposium on war and peace problems is being held for the 8th time in the local scientific and educational centre here. It is being attended by scientists from the USSR, the U.S., the People's Republic of China, India, Japan and a number of European countries. A Soviet delegation is led by Yevgeniy Velikhov, vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The motto of the symposium is "From confrontation to cooperation". Reports of its participants deal with the development of the laser technology and its use in various industries and medicine, with the need for a general and complete ban on nuclear weapons, with the safety of nuclear reactors and prospects of the international cooperation of scientists.

The role played by scientists in preventing a nuclear catastrophe, as well as their influence on the governments, cannot be overestimated, says a telegram of greeting sent to participants in the symposium by Giulio Andreotti, minister of foreign affairs of Italy. The famous "Erice manifesto" urging scientists of the whole world to pool efforts in the struggle against the war has been signed already by some 10,000 representatives of scientific circles, the telegram pointed out. Andreotti urged scientists to further develop cooperation for the benefit of peace and the consolidation of mutual trust.

Participants in the symposium expressed in their reports profound concern over the destinies of the world. V. Zagotta, head of an American delegation, pointed out the need for making the process of international detente irreversible.

"In the first years of the work of the Erice seminar we discussed mostly the problems dividing us, while today we are analyzing problems of mutual interest", Yevgeniy Velikhov, head of the Soviet delegation, said. "This became possible mostly thanks to the changing of the international climate in the past several years. The main characteristic feature of the present seminar is, in my opinion, the striving of scientists for cooperation".

NATO Exercise Near Bulgaria 'Provocative'

LD2008163488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0730 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] Brussels, 20 Aug (TASS)—TASS correspondent Albert Balebanov reports:

Military maneuvers of NATO mobile forces, code-named "Ally Express 88", are to take place this year in the European part of Turkey. This has been reported by the headquarters of the supreme commander in chief of the NATO Allied Forces in Europe.

The very fact of organizing war games in the immediate vicinity of the People's Republic of Bulgaria's border gives them a blatantly provocative character.

The maneuvers are a component of NATO's large-scale autumn games "Autumn Forge 88" and are to take place in the period from 1 to 29 September. More than 5,000 soldiers and officers from seven countries in the North Atlantic Alliance—the United States, Great Britain, the FRG, Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg and Turkey—and 1,500 combat vehicles will be taking part.

Demichev Meets Schoolchildren on Peace Mission

LD1908210888 Moscow TASS in English 1802 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 19 TASS—A fascinating voyage under the U.N. aegis is in store for Soviet ninth grade pupils who, as members of an international crew of the Polish sailing yacht "Pogoria", will set out from Gdansk for a voyage around South America on September 1. The crew will also consist of their Polish and American peers. Today schoolchildren described this peace-making mission within "International School of Peace under Sails" in the Kremlin where they met Petr Demichev, alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first vice president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

There was a talk in the Kremlin on how to help grownups to preserve peace and to make life better for people. Children expressed their ideas about problems agitating the rising generation and spoke about their future place in the huge work now shouldered by adults.

"Our duty and responsibility," noted Petr Demichev, "is to create all conditions for dreams and wishes of the young to come true and for peace to triumph on the earth." "During the trip," he said, "you will see distant countries whose population displays especially great interest in the life of Soviet people, their ideals and values of life. It is important to learn how to live together and cooperate, how to do things in such a way that your mission of peace would multiply the number of those who stand out against war, for peace and friendship between nations."

The voyage of the international crew on the "Pogoria" which will be piloted to the American shores by K. Baranowski, well-known Polish seafarer and sportsman, will end in Leningrad next May.

KYODO Interviews Economic Minister Katushev

OW2008112688 Tokyo KYODO in English 0856 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow, Aug. 20 KYODO—The Soviet Union will strongly seek to join the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and enhance its economic ties with Pacific Rim nations, Soviet Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Konstantin Katushev said Saturday.

Katushev told KYODO News Service and other Japanese reporters here that it will step up efforts to gain membership in the GATT, a Geneva-based global trade watchdog, and join the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council (PECC), a 13-member body designed to boost the economic solidarity of the Pacific Rim.

PECC groups Japan, Australia, China, Taiwan, Canada, the United States and member states of the Association of Southeast Asia Nations (ASEAN).

Katushev denied speculation among Western bloc nations that its bid to obtain seats in PECC and GATT has political overtones, adding that the bid is genuinely being made the satisfy the Soviets' economic considerations.

He called for scrapping international regulations under the Coordinating Committee (COCOM), a Paris-based multinational body designed to check the flow of Western defense-related high technology to the Communist bloc.

He called the COCOM the relic of the cold war and criticized its regulations for hampering the progress of East-West economic cooperation.

The minister slammed some Western countries' objections to the Soviets' bid to join GATT as being a mere discriminatory idea against the Soviet Union.

He said the Soviet policy of "Perestroyka" or economic restructuring corresponds with GATT requirements, since the progress of Perestroyka should lead to increased economic exchanges between the Soviet Union and the rest of the world.

Katushev requested that Western countries, especially Japan, expand their credit to the Soviet Union through individual deals with the Soviets.

The Soviet Union will increase its bond flotation on Western capital markets to gain more foreign hard currencies, following its recent successful issuance of bonds in Switzerland and West Germany.

The country will make every effort to give convertibility to the ruble to remove a major obstacle that has long hampered its trade and other economic exchanges with other countries, he said.

He said securing convertibility for the ruble demands that his country increase its capability to manufacture attractive commodities with competitive strength in world markets.

He said further economic reforms, including the correction of the gap between the Soviet and international pricing systems, are necessary if the Soviet Union is to give convertibility to the ruble.

Delegate Addresses Environment Conference

LD1908195688 Moscow TASS in English 1500 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Stockholm August 19 TASS—TASS correspondent Taras Lariokhin reports:

An international symposium on the protection of marine environment has come to a close here. At the invitation of the Swedish Government it was attended by representatives of 13 countries of the North Sea and the Baltic Sea basins, including a Soviet delegation led by V. Sokolovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Environmental Protection.

Participants in the symposium discussed an alarming situation in those seas where a massive death of fish and seals has been observed of late and came to the conclusion on the need for stepping up joint efforts in the improvement and protection of the marine environment. It was pointed out at the syposium that with this in view the first thing to do was to perceptibly reduce and eventually stop the discharge of industrial and agricultural waste. In this connection participants in the symposium emphasized the importance of international cooperation in the sphere of environmental protection.

V. Sokolovskiy, head of the Soviet delegation, pointed out in his speech that the problems of the "all-European home" should be resolved by joint efforts. He pointed out the topicality of the working out of a concept of international ecological security and called the attention of the audience to the document entitled "Consequences of the Arms Race for the Natural Environment and Other Aspects of Ecological Security" that had been adopted recently at a session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states. Sokolovskiy said that the Soviet Union had always supported concrete measures aimed at protecting natural resources in the interests of the present and future generations.

Participants in the symposium welcomed the decision of the Swedish Government to create in Stockholm an international institute for ecologically safe technologies. Its main task will be the development of new technologies aimed at lessening the pollution of the seas. They expressed the view that the work of this international body would play an important part in the development of cooperation in the sphere of environmental protection.

'International Situation' Program: World Climate

LD1908201388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 19 Aug 88

["International Situation—Questions and Answers" program presented by Vladimir Pasko, with Vitaly Chukseyev, Aleksandr Malikov, Mikhail Kretov, Vyacheslav Lavrentyev, and Boris Andrianov]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Pasko] To anyone who follows international relations, the link is obvious between the postive changes which characterize them with the state of Soviet-U.S. affairs. They determine, to a large extent, the present political climate in the world. To say that the fate of the world is being controlled by two superpowers is not true. We live in an interconnected world where it is only by joint efforts of all states, big and small, that mutual security can be ensured and the solution of various common human problems can be facilitated. Nevertheless, the enormous military and economic potentials of the Soviet Union and the United States is an extremely important factor affecting world affairs. Hence the keen interest which is constantly shown to Soviet-U.S relations and to the prospects for their development.

Naturally, people want to foretell how they will develop. This aspiration is clearly seen in letters from Yelena Alekseyevna Anisimova from Kuybyshev, who draws attention to the continuing U.S. propagation of the image of the enemy in relation to the Soviet Union, from Vladimir Alekseyevich Panfilov from Kudymkar, who writes about the continuing noncorrespondence between words and deeds on the part of the United States in the area of disarmament, and many of our other listeners. I showed your letters to Vitaliy Yakovlevich Chukseyev, member of the collegium of TASS, chief editor of foreign news.

[Chukseyev] I find the questions presented by our listeners extremely important and at the same time extremely difficult to answer. Important because the state of Soviet-U.S. relations to a large extent determines the current political climate in the world as a whole. It is complicated to give an unambiguous answer to these questions because relations between the two countries cannot be viewed as belonging to a rigid category. They are usually characterized by phases of rise and fall. For this reason, to analyze links between the Soviet Union and the United States one may confidently say that following a lengthy period of stagnation, over the past few years they have undoubtedly changed for the better. A specific embodiment of this positive shift has been the treaty—generally seen as historic—to scrap intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, as a result of which the physical elimination of nulcear weapons is now being carried out.

Now the two countries are conducting active negotiations on working out an agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons. The processes of change in Soviet society in recent years, which have also extended to Soviet-U.S. relations which, it is true, cannot be measured by physical or chemical units. I mean the enhanced interest of Americans in the life of Soviet people and hence the lessenings of feelings of mistrust and hostility.

During a recent official visit to New York, during numerous meetings and chats with Americans, I was able, by my own experience, to feel how closely they are following events in our country. And indeed, these meetings became far more open and friendly. But you could hardly have imagined a few years ago the appearance in the U.S. weekly TIME of a letter with the following contents: It was written by a resident of Minneapolis—Robert Poulson—right after the 19th party conference. It is not a long letter. I shall read it out in full. At a time when the Soviet Union is making bold steps along the road of restructuring and glasnost, aspiring to fulfill its social obligations, could not the United States also rouse itself from its complacency and apathy and start to ensure a better quality of life for its people? Why do U.S. officials not show the same boldness that the new Soviet leadership is showing in its attempts, asks the writer of the letter.

At the same time, it would be useless, and even dangerous, to build up illusions to the effect that over recent years it has proved possible to break through the barriers of prejudice and hostility toward the Soviet Union that held sway in the United States over a period of decades. If one takes a look at the results of a public opinion poll, the stereotypes of the cold war are still so influential that 50-60 percent of those polled consider the Soviet Union to be a threat to the United States, suspect us of violating bilateral agreements, and so forth.

So it will take lengthy and consistent efforts to get the image of the enemy ascribed to the Soviet Union replaced by the image of the partner inspiring trust, which corresponds to reality. But also, of course, one cannot reduce the problem to merely an intensified propaganda working-over of Americans in an anti-Soviet spirit. We cannot close our eyes to the fact that in the United States there are influential forces—the military-industrial complex—who are sickened by the harmonization of Soviet-U.S. relations.

In conclusion, one curious detail of political life in today's United States. Normally in the heat of the election battles the opponents, Democrat and Republican, basically wage the struggle around domestic problems of the country in the hunt for votes. However, at the Republican Party convention that has just ended in New Orleans, the basic propaganda trump of the present administration has been the improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations. This is yet another admission of the great attention and interest in these questions that has been demonstrated in recent times by millions of Americans. [passage omitted]

[Pasko] And now I would like to touch on a theme which is our common pain—the fate of the Soviet servicemen missing in Afghanistan. There have been quite a few letters sent to us requesting us to say what is being done to establish their location, if they are alive, and to facilitate their return home. Many of them have gone through hell during their years of imprisonment. It is our duty to get them out of there. The reproach of our listener Comrade Dudaryva living in Nartkala. The reproach is that we, she writes, never say anything about the fate of the Soviet servicemen imprisoned Afghanistan. I want to hand over to my colleague, the commentator Aleksandr Malikov.

[Malikov] I think I agree with you that the reproach against us is groundless in general. The theme of the fate of the Soviet soldiers missing in Afghanistan is covered by us without any taboos. There is total glasnost operating in this matter. How else, for example—how would you, esteemed Comrade Dudaryva—have known about the assumed number of these people—311 people—whom you mentioned in your letter? So glasnost also affects us in this business. I hope that what we have to tell you, free from polemics, will convince you of this.

You ask in particular whether there may be more prisoners of war than are known by the official figures. It is far from simple to establish this for certain. After all, some of the boys could have been killed in battle but not identified. Some of them are imprisoned—probably some of them in Pakistan, although the Pakistani authorities, apart from polite but vague promises to establish their location, essentially have so far not undertaken anything that produced results.

The French paper LE MONDE writes in this connection that freeing them will not be an easy matter, since most of them are imprisoned by various groups of rebels that frequently oppose each other. These groups do not recognize the Geneva Convention of 1949 on the treatment of prisoners of war, and are not unified under a single command. For this reason it is extremely difficult to conduct a dialogue with them on this subject. But, it seems to me, there has been a certain shift here recently, and a more serious attitude is being taken by the so-called moderate representatives of the oppostion groups, in particular the Gaylani group, which recently promised as a goodwill gesture to free 2 Soviet servicemen. At the same time the extremist group of Hikmatyar, the most irreconcilable of the irreconcilables, is continuing to raise unimaginable conditions for returning Soviet people, trying to turn their liberation into a subject of cynical bargaining; naturally we can in no way go along with that. And yet, by international legal norms, the responsibility for the fate of our people lies with Pakistan if they are on its territory, and on the leadership of the opposition, wherever they are operating in Pakistan or in Afghanistan. On the whole, the contacts with the opposition are being conducted on a very active but confidential basis in order not to break the thin threads of these contacts.

Literally a few words about the mechanism of the search. It is important first of all to find out who is holding this or that serviceman. After that he will be put on the list of prisoners and automatically come under the protection of the International Committee of the Red Cross. Further, its representatives must be given the possibility of visiting prisoners of war at their places of detention. In the traditions of the Red Cross, this type of meeting must take place in the presence of a doctor and an interpreter, and without a guard, so that the detainee may speak about his situation and hand over letters to his near ones. The next stage is to ease the conditions of imprisonment, gather the prisoners in one place on the territory of Pakistan, Afghanistan, or say in Switzerland, and then solve the question of the conditions of their repatriation.

To travel this path, as you understand yourselves, a great deal has still to be done. Here—this is understandable—we need collective, including international efforts. At present this matter is being dealt with primarily by staff of the USSR Ministry of Defense and the military authorities of Afghanistan, foreign and Soviet diplomats, incuding at the United Nations, representatives of the international and Soviet public. For instance, the International Committee for the Salvation of Prisoners in Afghanistan, which includes doctors, prominent academics, and businessmen, operates in New York. Here, the Soviet Red Cross devotes much effort to obtaining the earliest possible release and return of Soviet citizens.

It is hard to make any predictions for the future on this—I stress—very difficult issue. But there is one thing that is beyond dispute: The signing of the Geneva Agreements on Afghanistan and the precise observance by our country of the timetable for the withdrawal of Soviet troops considerably facilitate the easing of, and solution to, this problem which troubles us all. I should like to round off my answer on this optimistic note. [passage omitted: Pyongyang correspondent Kretov on Korean Peninsula situation; Pasko on numerous government crises in Italy; Lavrentyev on current situation in Haiti; Lavrentyev on Soviet relations with Ecuador, Panama; Pasko explains role and functions of the OAU in fighting colonialism and solving regional conflicts; Pasko gives a Soviet Foreign Ministry account of history and current status of Spitzbergen; Andrianov responds to criticism by a listener of a report by Andrianov on Kurile Islands on 24 June]

'Observers Roundtable': Afghan, Gulf Situations

LD2108200688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 21 Aug 88

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Boris Andrianov, All-Union Radio foreign political commentator; Nikolay Ivanovich Agayants, All-Union Radio foreign political commentator; and Vadim Borisovich Kassis, editor-in-chief of GOLOS RODINY and OTCHIZNA]

[Text] [Andrianov] Hello, comrades! Taking part in our meeting at the roundtable today are my colleague Nikolay Ivanovich Agayants, foreign political commentator of All-Union Radio; and Vadim Borisovich Kassis, editor-in-chief of GOLOS RODINY and the OTCHIZNA magazine. I see that you want to start things off, Vadim Borisovich:

[Kassis] Over the past 3 months the world public has followed events in Afghanistan with unrelenting attention and this is not fortuitous: 3 months ago—on 15 May—the documents signed in Geneva by the foreign affairs ministers of Afghanistan, Pakistan, the United States and the Soviet Union went into force. Today there are grounds for asking what assessment can be made of the 3 months that have elapsed?

[Andrianov] That was precisely the question raised in the Soviet Government statement that was published on Afghanistan. Accordingly that important and analytical document contains a detailed answer to all questions linked with the Geneva agreements and the political settlement of the situation surrounding Afghanistan. So what does this statement draw attention to first and foremost?

[Agayants] Well, in the first place it stresses that the Soviet Union, as one of the international guarantors of the Geneva agreement package, is making every effort in order to fulfill its obligations under the documents and within the prescribed timescale; and in the second place it points out that half of the personnel of the limited contingent of Soviet troops had been returned from Afghanistan by 15 August.

[Kassis] And so now there is not one single Soviet serviceman in 26 of the 32 provinces of that country. However, the following question arises here: Are attempts being made by the rebels to attack the Soviet columns of departing detachments?

[Andrianov] Cases of that kind have been recorded. By the logic of things it might appear that officers and men who have completed their difficult military labor on the friendly land of Afghanistan should be leaving for home along roads of peace and not of war. But they are having to enter into combat operations. Do we know through whose fault this is?

[Agayants] Of course. As the Soviet Government statement points out, the Soviet side has unfortunately been obliged to state that the cause of an Afghan settlement could have moved much further forward today if the other participants in the Geneva agreements—and Pakistan in the first place—had implemented the whole package of their own obligations with equal responsibility, consistency and vigor. In actual fact, however, what one sees is the direct opposite. What specific facts are there in this connection?

[Kassis] Suffice it to say that during the period 15 May-15 July alone the armed oppsition carried out 2,914 armed attacks and 96 acts of sabotage and terrorism aimed in the majority of cases against the peaceful population. Besides this centralized control of military operations by the gangs and formations is being carried out from headquarters situated on the territory of Pakistan.

[Andrianov] Perhaps one ought to say precisely what these headquarters are?

[Kassis] Well, first of all we mean the headquarters belonging to the so-called Alliance of Seven; and also the transitional Afghan Government in the City of Peshawar which has been formed by the rebels and widely advertized. Let's take a look at the Soviet Government statement on Afghanistan and read what it has to say in this connection.

[Agayants] It says that Pakistan's violation of its obligations under the Geneva agreements is also expressed in its direct encouragement of the Afghan opposition to overthrow the legitimate government of the Republic of Afghanistan. As far as the transitional government is concerned that has been set up with the direct support of the Pakistani authorities, this action, too, is described in the statement as a very crude violation of Article 2 of the agreement between Afghanistan and Pakistan on the principles of their mutual relations, and in particular on noninterference and the rejection of intervention.

[Kassis] Supplies of weapons and ammunition are still being made to the territory of Afghanistan; several major dumps and transshipment points which continue to receive more and more arms consignments still exist in areas of Pakistan which border the republic; nor has the training of rebels been stopped. Training takes place near the towns of Peshawar, Quetta, Parachinar, (Teremangal) and a number of others. During the month of June alone 3,000 rebels were put into the territory of Afghanistan. They had undergone military training in those centers. Reports have also appeared in the press about specialized terrorist and sabotage groups being put into Afghanistan.

[Andrianov] As far as combat operations are concerned and bombardments by the intransigent part of the opposition, we are seeing how these have been stepped up noticeably of late. During the first 10 days of August the extremists have carried out 142 acts of firing and 18 assaults upon population centers in a number of the Republic's provinces. Nevertheless, in the difficult trials of these months the people's power in the country has proved its vitality.

[Agayants] This is precisely what was mentioned a few days ago by Najibullah, Afghanistan's president. Furthermore he stressed that during these months the country's armed forces had displayed the ability to solve independently tasks in defending the republic. Under present conditions this is a factor of no mean importance, for many pepole are now asking what is going to be done by that 50 percent of Soviet detachments which will remain in six of the republic's provinces until the final date for the removal of all our troops.

[Kassis] Well, it's perfectly reasonable question, and first of all one ought to say that our servicemen are not going to be taking part in combat operations. The detachments have been set the task of guarding the administrative centers and transport communications, of ensuring safe passage for convoys of goods for the peaceful population and also of guarding the Soviet units which are leaving Afghanistan. Of course, if the rebels continue to attack the transport, the convoys and the detachments, then they will receive the answer they deserve.

[Andrianov] Of course one would like to believe that the opposition will react to this warning in the correct manner, for confrontation is not the way to unblock the Afghan question. Under present conditions the Afghan leadership is using, as far as it is able, all possibilities for an internal political settlement. This process, the Soviet Government statement notes, is moving forward despite all the obstacles that are being erected in its path. Suffice it to list such important events as the convening of the National Assembly or parliament, where various political forces and strata within Afghan society are represented; the formation of a new government cabinet in which elements of coalition are making themselves seen clearly and precisely; and there are others.

[Kassis] Well, it has to be added that 10 groupings from the Islamic Society of Afghanistan, the Islamic Party of Afghanistan and the Hezbollah ended their armed struggle against people's power in various parts of the country during the first 10 days of August. The total number involved in them was up to 660 people. There is also good news about the return of refugees from Pakistan. As President Najibullah observed at a recent press conference, a wide program for giving assistance to refugees is being implemented in the country. And this is not fortuitous. According to a BAKHTAR agency report 32,000 repatriates have returned home since the start of the national reconciliation process.

[Andrianov] Statistics are a dry subject, of course, but there's no getting by without figures. Can we not recall how many facilities for different purposes have been handed over to the Afghan side during the withdrawal of the Soviet detachments?

[Agayants] Yes, of course, and the figures here are impressive. Judge for yourselves: 2,289 facilities with a total value of more than R176 million, including hospitals, workshops, military camps. Soviet military units have restored 35 mosques and have built and reconstructed 84 schools, 26 hospitals, 326 housing blocks and much, much else besides. All this is appreciated for what it is worth by the ordinary Afghan workers. But who are the people who are made angry by it?

[Kassis] The opposition, naturally, which operates under direct incitement from outside and which is fed on handouts running into many millions. The ideological processing of people which is carried out from abroad, President Najibullah stresses, has reached the scale of a real psychological war against the Afghan people.

It must also be noted that the UN observers are continuing to draw up notes about violations of the Geneva accords by the opposition. The number of these has already exceeded 70, the number of those notes, I mean. As far as the Soviet side is concerned, Captain Kauko Aitomaa, leader of the UN observer group in Shindand, stated, for example, that the withdrawal of Soviet troops is proceeding strictly in accordance with the timetable. We are getting the necessary information from the Soviet command and our cooperation is beyond reproach. I would like to return again to the Soviet Government statement, which says that if realism, foresight, and a desire for peace in Afghanistan actually are displayed, it will be possible to bring closer the day when the Afghan problem will be talked about in the past tense.

[Agayants] There is no question about it, the process of settling the regional conflict surrounding Afghanistan is not flowing smoothly. Despite the complications, however, it is continuing. I would note that this is not the only hot spot on the continent of Asia. Indications that yet another of them, it would seem, might gradually acquire a tendency toward cooling down are giving rise to hope. I am thinking of the war between Iran and Iraq, which flared up at the beginning of September, 1980 and which has now been going on for almost 8 years. The U.S. WALL STREET JOURNAL described it as a prolonged nightmare in the Persian Gulf.

[Kassis] I do not think there is any point in trying to judge how accurate that description is. It is, however, an unquestionable fact that it has become the most bloody and destructive war since World War II. Both sides have lost about 1.2 million people, just counting those killed, while the numbers of those wounded and maimed is twice as large. The material damage is reckoned in gigantic figures. According to one set of figures, this amounts in its totality to $420 billion; others say that it is almost $500 billion. For purposes of comparison, it is worth saying that last year Iran's GNP was equal to $45 billion, while that of Iraq was approximately $10 billion dollars less.

[Andrianov] One can judge the scale of the human losses when one remembers that the population of Iraq is about 16 million people, while there are three times as many people living in Iran. So the internecine strife between Iran and Iraq is without doubt one of the most cruel wars of our age, just as it is, for that matter, one of the most senseless. It has required an enormous and tragic payment to be made for Iran-Iraq rivalry, for the manifestation of Arab and Persian nationalism, for the struggle between different trends in Islam. What is more, all of this has been egged on by the intrigues of imperialism in this region of the planet. In 8 years of fighting on this bloody scale, however, neither of the two sides essentially has achieved the objectives it was pursuing during the war. Clearly there are no victors in the long drawn-out feud. On the other hand, it is obvious what Iran and Iraq have lost, having left on the battlefields the flower of their nations and having thrown their countries backward, with economies undermined by the burdens of war.

[Agayants] Is it possible to forget the way this international conflict sharply aggravated the explosive situation in the Middle East? Suffice it, perhaps, to say that the United States used the Iran-Iraq war as a convenient pretext for stepping up its military presence in the Persian Gulf by a factor of many times; a power formation of U.S. warships there was joined by the largest naval force belonging to Washington's Western European allies in the whole of the postwar period. As a result, this region of our planet began incrasingly to resemble a powder keg ready to explode at the slightest spark. And that spark could have been struck by the most unforeseeable chance happening. At times it appeared that the situation in the Persian Gulf was becoming unpredictable and capable of bringing about the most tragic consequences for the whole of mankind.

[Kassis] Maybe not quite as far as that, but the dramatic nature of the situation in this zone was obvious. It is all the more gratifying that now it is probably permissable to talk about this in the past tense, to a certain extent. The cease-fire in the war between Iran and Iraq came into force yesterday. A group of military observers is already located on the territories of both countries. It is made up of representatives from 25 states. They have been called upon to monitor the cease-fire process on the Iran-Iraq front. The Yugoslav Major General Slavko Jovic is heading this mission. He will make shuttle flights between Tehran and Baghdad. This coming Thursday, direct talks between representatives of Iran and Iraq should start in Geneva under UN auspices. During these meetings it is planned to discuss such matters as the withdrawal of troops to internationally recognized borders and the exchange of prisoners of war. These matters, incidentally, are integral points in the plan by UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar for fulfillment of UN Security Council Resolution No 598.

[Andrianov] By the way one should probably say a few words about this resolution. The Security Council adopted it on 20 July last year. For the first time since the United Nations came into existence it did not appeal for, but clearly demanded, that as a first step toward a negotiated settlement Iran and Iraq should cease fire immediately, halt all military action on land, at sea, and in the air, and pull back their troops to internationally recognized borders without delay. This document, made up of 10 points, called upon Iran and Iraq to cooperate with the UN secretary-general in the implementation of the resolution and mediatory efforts in order to achieve an all-embracing, just and honorable settlement, acceptable to both sides, of all unresolved issues in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter.

[Agayants] To all appearances Iraq has been willing to accept a cease-fire in principle for a long time. At any rate certain proposals from Baghdad on this score had a ring of individual points in Resolution 598, but Iran did not make an official response to this document. Why was this? It is impossible to give a clearcut answer to this. But I think it would be no exaggeration to talk about a somewhat biased attitude on the part of Tehran to the UN Security Council, for over recent years Iran has ignored this most important body of the world community. The Tehran leadership believed that after the beginning of the Iran-Iraq conflict the Security Council had occupied an inconsistent position and adopted a number of decisions which Iran believed were more in the interests of Iraq.

[Kassis] And nonetheless when a U.S. cruiser using missiles brought down an Iranian civilian plane on 3 July it was to the Security Council that the Tehran authorities turned, to the Security Council indeed.

[Andrianov] Undoubtedly this step made it clear that certain changes had taken place in Tehran's position. Most probably the tragic destruction of the Iranian airliner had such an effect on public opinion in Iran that this country's government decided to submit the matter of this piratical attack to the verdict of the international community. Was this a manifestation of Tehran being disposed to cooperation with the UN Security Council? Very likely the Iranian leadership was in this way giving a distinctive signal of its readiness for such cooperation. Remember that on 18 July—exactly 15 days after the destruction of the Iranian airliner—Iran's united military command stated that Tehran had decided to recognize officially Resolution No 598 of the UN Security Council.

[Agayants] It's just a pity of course that Tehran needed almost 12 months to think things over.

[Kassis] Now, when one can hope that the bonfire of bloody war in the Persian Gulf is dying down finally, I think that one cannot but agree with those that regard the settlement of this conflict as the direct achievement of the UN and its secretary general. But nonetheless one cannot but consider the very substantial circumstance that this was assisted by the overall improvement in the international climate as a result of the well-known normalization of Soviet-U.S. relations.

[Andrianov] But one ought not to leave out the definite shifts in the views of the sides at war either. Maybe they should not be taken as a manifestation of the new political thinking for the time being. Here it is proper rather to say that both Iran and Iraq understood the pointlessness of the military conflict and sensed the doomed nature of attempts to outplay each other on the field of battle. But this, too, on the basis of the high scores, leads to a realization of how impossible it is to resolve disputed matters through military force, and makes one think that the quest to resolve them has to be conducted through a peaceful dialogue at the negotiating table alone.

[Agayants] But they hold a quite different view in Washington. There they think that the end to the Iran-Iraq bloodshed is their achievement. Officials across the ocean are claiming that this has occurred because the United States acted firmly from a position of strength in the Persian Gulf and that such a strong-arm policy has proved its worth once more.

[Kassis] Well, Washington first of all is ignoring facts that completely refute a claim of this kind. And second in presenting its contribution, if one can call it that, to the cease-fire on the Iran-Iraq front officials across the ocean are, to put it bluntly, endeavoring to retain the U.S. military presence in this region. But it is this that has to a great extent made for the dragging out and exacerbation of the situation in the Persian Gulf zone.

[Andrianov] Nonetheless the fire in this region is dying down. But it would be premature to give way to excessively optimistic sentiments right now. Far from everything has been determined yet. The main thing, the plan for a peaceful settlement still has to be implemented. One has to assume that quite real difficulties may arise on the way to its implementation., even if one just takes the work of the special commission which will have to establish the degree of guilt of both countries for unleashing the war. It is very difficult to predict this process, particularly now when to all appearances Iran and Iraq have still not cooled down and are not expressing open trust toward each other.

[Agayants] All this of course is making itself felt in the relations between these countries as well, but nevertheless one wants very much to hope that both sides will find in themselves the strength to display political will and state wisdom and be guided by common sense in order to overcome the inevitable difficulties and reach a peaceful settlement. It is simply essential for Iran and Iraq to rid themselves of the difficult atmosphere of military conflict so that the peoples of these countries are able at last to breathe quietly the fresh air of life in peace.

[Andrianov] What has been said here at our roundtable today shows indisputably that the processes to settle regional conflicts are not easy. For various reasons, both subjective and objective, they can acquire a prolonged nature and develop unevenly. That is the art of real wise politics, the art of conducting talks so that different point of views can at last be reduced to a common denominator by means of a sensible compromise and a balance of interests can be sought and found. And this can only be achieved through collective efforts given goodwill, patience and a responsible approach to resolving difficult presentday problems.

[Agayants] Yes, where taking one's own national interests into account is combined with respect for the interests of others, intervention from outside comes to a halt and the first concrete, positive results are achieved. The adoption of the Geneva package on Afghanistan that we have mentioned clearly demonstrated that it is practicable and possible to reach accords at the negotiating table. This, I think, applies to the situation around Cambodia, Iran and Iraq and the complex situation that has developed in recent years in the south of the African Continent. This is a fact. However, in those hot spots in which the conditions I have mentioned are not observed, the state of affairs, sadly, inspires scant optimism. This refers, in particular, to the Central American region where, because of the Washington administration's reluctance to take into account the changes taking place throughout the world and beacuse of the hegemonist politics of the United States which regard the Western Hemisphere as their own domain the situation remains extremely urgent and explosive.

[Kassis] The stereotypes of the past in Washington's political thinking are still very strong. Hence the same uncomplicated imperialist methods of pressure from force, open blackmail and threats. Panama serves as an example, currently living through toubled days and, of course, so does Nicaragua. The course of supporting the Somozist bandits and stifling the Sandinist revolution is without the shadow of a doubt the main reason why the Guatemala agreement concluded something over a year ago on measures to settle the Central American conflict and establish peace in the region has thus far not become a reality. Washington's obstructionist position is an insurmountable barrier on the way to solving these problems.

[Andrianov] The contra gangs, encouraged and fed by the United States and those gangs on Honduras territory, do not simply not engage in negotiations with Managua but exploit the tense situation that has now developed to prepare new acts of terrorism against Nicaragua.

[Agayants] It should be stressed that the whole of this provocative commotion goes on quite openly with the connivance of the authorities in Honduras, which close their eyes to the presence of the Somozist gangs in their country. I also observe that support for the contras from the Honduras military is a most crude violation of the Guatemala agreements reached by the presidents of the give Central American states. After all, they, that is the agreements, completely exclude the possibility of using the territory of neighboring countries in order to attack one another. True, this point of the accord has never been observed by the Honduras side which is not merely providing the Somozist bandits with support but is even taking part in armed attacks on the positions of the Sandinist People's Army. All this is done in order, some way or other, to provoke Nicaragua into reciprocal action and then to accuse it of violating the Guatemala agreements with all the attendant consequences.

[Kassis] For 7 of the 9 years that have passed since the overthrow in Nicaragua of the power of the bloody dictator Somoza and the triumph of the Sandinist revolution, Nicaragua has been forced to defend its freedom and independence from encrocahment by the contras, organized, financed and armed by the United States, stretching its forces and resources to the full. These years passed in the most difficult and exhausting struggle of the Nicaraguan working people against Washington's attempts to quash the revolution and destroy people' power with the aid of gangs of mercenaries, hunger and economic and political blockade. However, in spite of all the difficulties and deprivations and in spite of the constant interventionist acts by the United States, the Nicaraguans are advancing staunchly along the path they have chosen. They are full of determination to achieve peace in their country and throughout the whole of Central America.

[Andrianov] And their concrete deeds and practical steps are confirming this determination and their faithfulness to the spirit and letter of the Guatemala agreements. Moreover, judge for yourselves: Over the past year, the Nicaraguan Government has undertaken direct talks with contra representatives on a cease-fire, the Sandinists have called upon Washington to renew the dialogue with Nicaragua—which Washington bears the blame for interrupting—on normalizing relations with Nicaragua; and the cessation of offensive operations against the contras has been declared prolonged until 31 August of this year.

[Agayants] Tomas Borge, Nicaragua's minister of internal affairs, speaking this week at a mass meeting held in the town of Bluefields on the country's Atlantic coast, touched upon the topic of a peaceful dialogue with the armed counterrevolution and noted that the contras, to all appearances, are not striving to reach an agreement on a final cease-fire and the establishment of lasting peace in the region at all. All their rhetoric, said Borge, is aimed only at getting more and more allocations out of the American legislators for waging war against the Nicaraguan people. Were the contras to agree to renew talks now, I think their tactics would remain as before—that is, they would again put forward unacceptable conditions, again undermine the dialogue by accusing the Sandinist leadership of some kind of reluctance to make concessions.

[Kassis] Concentration of large Somozist formations near the Nicaraguan border and the latest provocations attest to the Contras' intentions of undermining the possibility of a peaceful political settlement in the country and of embarking upon armed operations against Nicaragua very soon.

[Andrianov] And here, in my view, there can be but one opinion. The fatal and, perhaps, determining role is played by Washington's stubborn anti-Sandinist stance, its support for the contras and constant dollar injections for the mercenaries. I suggest that it is sufficient to recall the adoption by the U.S. Congress of new legislation on aid to the contras.

[Agayants] And the problem is in no way in the size of the financial aid allotted the contras but in the position, the principles, thus far professes in Washington.

[Andrianov] No, not a single one of the regional conflicts can be settled by methods of force or those of pressure, that of Central America included, it goes without saying. Here, as in other places, a search for peaceful solutions is required. Goodwill and patience are needed, without which it is simply unrealistic to bank upon any kind of positive outcome. Only realism, consistency, respect for the sides' points of view, a sincere desire to reach specific, constructive accords, can be a reliable instrument for the elimination of this dangerous source of tension on our planet.

And on this, we end our roundtable meeting. All those taking part thank you, esteemed comrade listeners, for your attention. Goodbye. All the best.

United States & Canada

Vorontsov, U.S. Envoy Discuss Afghan Accord

LD1908151088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1425 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow, 19 Aug (TASS)—Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, received Jack F. Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR, today. Several issues connected with the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan and their implementation were discussed during the conversation.

Pentagon Report on Airbus Downing Reviewed

LD2008082188 Moscow TASS in English 0742 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] Washington August 20 TASS—TASS correspondent Aleksey Berezhkov and Andrey Fedyashin report:

The downing of an Iranian civilian aircraft by a missile fired from a U.S. warship in the Persian Gulf on July 3 is a "tragic" and "regrettable" incident. Several mistakes which, however, "were not crucial" to the fateful decision to hit the airliner with a missile led to this incident. Such is the main conclusion of the Pentagon report on the investigation on the circumstances surrounding the downing of the Iranian airbus by the U.S. Vincennes aegis cruiser. The tragedy resulted in the death of all 298 people who were on board of the plane.

The report justifies virtually completely the actions of the ship's captain and the crew and recommends taking no disciplinary action against the culprits.

The document admits that contrary to the Pentagon's initial version the airbus was climbing instead of descending, that it transmitted radio signals identifying it as a civilian rather than military aircraft, and that the plane was inside an air corridor that was set for civilian and commercial airliners. Such errors are explained by the crew's lack of experience.

Admiral William Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, told a press conference Friday that the version was based on the "information received from the ship shortly after the action", which, as the findings of the investigation showed, appeared to be erroneous. Nevertheless, Crowe maintained that the mistakes were not crucial. "I believe that given the operating environment, Captain Rogers acted reasonably and did what his nation expected of him in defense of his ship and crew", Crowe said. "I concur with Admiral Fogarty's finding that there was no culpable conduct displayed aboard Vincennes. (Fogarty headed the Pentagon investigation team—TASS) This regrettable accident, and it was an accident, was a by product of the Iran-Iraq war".

Moreover, without a shadow of shame Crowe laid part of the blame for the tragedy on...Iran. He said, in part, that the Iranian side should not have ignored "the repeated warnings of the United States and permit the airliner to take off...and fly directly into the midst of surface action in the Strait of Hormuz..."

Speaking at the press conference, U.S. Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci also tried to justify the Vincennes' actions arguing that "mistakes are made virtually in every combat situation". In actual fact, they exonerated Captain Rogers and his crew, who are held responsible for the death of 298 people, from all of their guilt. The crews of the Vincennes and also other ships equipped with the sophisticated Aegis radar and tracking system only face psychological testing to ensure their combat readiness, which is proposed in the report.

Carlucci said that he accepted the main recommendation of the report that no disciplinary action be taken against the captain or other members of the Vincennes crew. The U.S. secretary of defence said that "the President has been briefed on the findings and on the endorsements and concurs with them".

Republicans Focus on Military Buildup

LD1908224188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Aug 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; B. Kalyagin report from New Orleans over video]

[Text] The National Convention of the U.S. Republican Party has come to an end in New Orleans. Five thousand delegates, 10,000 guests, and almost 15,000 journalists packed the Superdome sports palace in which the sessions were held. The Republican Convention was like a well-organized show. After each orator's speech, a special orchestra burst forth. Many delegates looked like the participants in a carnival performance. The whole atmosphere surrounding the convention bore the same festival character.

However, against the background of this noisy exultation, extremely belligerent statements were heard as well. The speech of the U.S. President, Reagan, set the tone of the debate, coming down heavily on the Democrats for their alleged liberalism. The party's preelection platform, endorsed by the convention, sounds as if it were put together in the days of the cold war. The main theme of the international section of the Republican platform is an appeal to build up U.S. military might and to conduct a policy from a position of strength. It asserts that it is precisely because of the U.S. policy of force that positive changes have taken place in the world.

The preelection platform talks about the Republicans' desire to complete work on a Soviet-U.S. agreement on 50-percent cuts in offensive nuclear weapons. At the same time, however, it stresses their commitment to the Star Wars program and their intention to deploy antisatellite weapons and continue nuclear tests.

The predominant influence of the party's right wing was felt clearly at the convention. This was confirmed again by the choice of Dan Quayle, the senator from Indiana, as candidate for U.S. vice president. This young politician—he is only 41—has, during the time he has worked in the Senate, been distinguished by the fact that he has always fought for increasing military expenditure.

U.S. Vice President George Bush has been officially endorsed as the candidate for the post of head of the White House. Speaking at the convention's final session, George Bush spoke of his desire for peace and the fact that he will seek to further reduce the military arsenals of the United States and the Soviet Union. Overall, however, the convention has shown that the leaders of the Republican Party intend to conduct their preelection battle with the Democrats from a position of conservatism. That is how Ronald Reagan acted in his time, but whether it will help George Bush get into the chair of president of the United States is a question that not even experienced American observers will undertake to answer specifically.

Zorin Comments on Republican Convention

LD2108013588 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Weekly commentary by Valentin Zorin, read by announcer]

[Text] People in the Soviet Union closely followed the work of the Republican Party Convention in New Orleans and this is but natural since we are interested in who is going to be at the head of the United States for the next 4 years and what kind of American policies one can expect during that time. Frankly speaking, one gets the impression that delegates to the Republican Convention started backing away from what they used to regard as the historic achievement of Ronald Reagan's presidency, from the positive changes in Soviet-American relations and for the very spirit of arms control agreements.

Delegates in their speeches and even the Republican Party's platform mentioned the Soviet Union as an adversary rather than a partner. This is obviously a relapse to old stereotypes which I think, writes Valentin Zorin, gives no hope for the future. The Republican formula voiced in New Orleans—that is, peace from the position of strength—and the claims that nuclear weapons should be built up and SDI systems developed and deployed in order to conduct talks on disarmament were only puzzling and discouraging. Experience shows that new generations of weapons, far from facilitating, only impede negotiations. Far from building up trust they only undermine it and far from improving they only worsen Soviet-American relations.

Listening to speakers that frequently repeated assertions that it was allegedly the buildup of American potential that had compelled the USSR to sit down at the negotiating table and had brought about the INF Treaty was rather embarrassing. These nearly 8-year-long efforts of the Republican administration in the military area and the buildup of the Pentagon's budget have failed to alter the military strategic balance of forces between the United States and the Soviet Union; and rumors that the Unitd States managed to frighten the Soviet Union are absolutely groundless. And generally speaking, it is not serious talk of relations between such great powers as the USSR and the United States using words like compel, induce, or frighten.

Of course, one can vivdly imagine the atmosphere of election battles in the United States, when candidates often make rash statements which they'll have to withdraw on becoming political leaders. We can recall slogans advanced in the course of Republican campaigns of 1980 and 1984. Later, many of these which had to do with Soviet-American relations had to be abandoned. At the Soviet-American summits, President Reagan gave up anti-Soviet rhetoric, and that only helped improve our relations. And still the attempts to revitalize the cold war sentiment in the course of the Republican Convention in New Orleans, even if to produce an impression on the electorate, cannot but cause concern.

IZVESTIYA Views Bush-Quayle Ticket

PM1908150588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Dispatch by own correspondent A. Shalnev: "Bush Team Goes Into Action"]

[Text] New Orleans—The speed with which cottage industry in the United States adjusts to consumer demand is amazing. Just a few hours after it had been announced who George Bush had selected as his partner for the coming elections in November, T-shirts, badges, hats, towels, handkerchiefs, and pens inscribed with "Bush-Quayle" and with portraits of the U.S. presidential and vice-presidential candidates appeared all over New Orleans.

The Republican team, which had only just been formed, set to work with typical American speed. On Wednesday Bush and Senator Dan Quayle of Indiana held a press conference at which they went through virtually the entire package of questions that interest both journalists and voters. They also touched on those questions that, undoubtedly, also interest us in the Soviet Union. This is what Senator Quayle said in particular: "I am sure that we should continue to invest in national defense and make progress with the SDI program.... I support the arms control process. The lesson we must learn from the preparation of the treaty on intermediate-range missiles is this: We must keep on putting money into defense in order to bring the Soviet Union to the bargaining table."

I would like to supplement the vice-presidential candidate's words with fragments of interviews which I had with people who are close to both Bush and Quayle. Senator Richard Lugar, who once headed the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, stressed that if the Republicans win he is "counting on the continuation and consistency of the policy pursued by Reagan in the sphere of Soviet-U.S. relations and arms control." SDI, in the senator's opinion, "will not be an obstacle" to the arms reduction process.

Lee Atwater, who leads the Bush election campaign, preferred to single out another aspect—the tough line, to be precise. "The tough line which the new Republican administration will demonstrate at the negotiating table with the Russians."

Let me return to the press conference. It indicated that, by selecting Senator Quayle as his partner, Bush may have created unnecessary difficulties for himself. For example, journalists noted that, while proclaiming his future administration to be an administration for the people, Bush—himself a millionaire—is adding a millionaire to the team. How can this be reconciled was the question which did not get a proper reply.

Moreover, details in Quayle's biography were revealed that have a whiff of scandal. Why did the senator, who believes himself a "hawk" and fights for firmness in military matters, evade being sent to Vietnam at the end of the 1960's, preferring to stay at home—if he was by no means a pacifist?

Quayle answered, but he did not particularly satisfy the journalists.

PRAVDA on Bush Background, Credentials

PM1908160588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Aug 88 Second Edition p 6

[Own correspondent V. Gan dispatch: "Political Portrait. The Contender: Republican Party Candidate George Bush"]

[Text] New Orleans—Some political catchphrases have an enviable fate. The one suggested last month at the Democratic convention by Senator Kennedy was immediately taken up by the 4,000 delegates. The question: "Where was George?" was repeated every other sentence in the "Omni Coliseum," and it echoed throughout the country.

They say that in the struggle for the Presidency a considerable part is played by the ability to identify with the sacred symbols and myths of America. Americans do not remember or know very well one of their presidents, William Harrison, who figured briefly in U.S. history in the last century. But the real image, or one invented by Harrison, of the shack in which he spent his childhood served to create the symbol of the man of the people which became firmly established in the American collective memory and mythology. In contrast to Democratic contender Dukakis—son, as his official biography says, of a poor Greek immigrant—George Bush in unlucky in this respect. However hard you look you find nothing "Cinderella-ish" in his past, no modest childhood shack.

George, in full George Herbert Walker Bush, official Republican Party candidate for the U.S. Presidency, was born with a silver spoon in his mouth, or, as we say, "with a shirt on." According to the genealogical handbook "Burke's Peerage," Bush has blood ties with all 60 European royal families and is a relative of the Queen of England thirteen times removed. His well-washed, well-groomed childhood began in Milton, Massachusetts, and he subsequently moved to Greenwich, Connecticut. He would spend the summer at Kennebunkport, Maine, where the family still has a home. George Bush's father was the epitome of the aristocratic Yankee. An influential banker and partner in the firm "Brown Brothers, Harriman," Prescott Bush, who was "obliged by his station" to sit on a multitude of boards and committees, had little time for children, entrusting the task to his wife.

It is from his father that George Bush gets his old links with the "Eastern establishment," that is, the capitalists of the country's eastern states. In these circles George Bush is seen as "his father's son," the father being remembered as a solid, strong-willed man who valued moderate views, loyalty, and a sense of duty. When you read the vice president's biography you get the impression that he has not only inherited his father's athletic build (height—185 cm, weight—approximately 90 kg).

In 1942, on his 18th birthday, secondary school graduate George Bush joined the Navy, becoming the youngest pilot in the U.S. Navy. In September 1944 Bush's bomber was shot down in an operation against the Japanese. He managed to parachute out of the aircraft.

Soon back in action, Bush flew a total of 1,288 hours during the war. The young pilot was given high awards for bravery and heroism. These services are acknowledged by everyone, and few people appeared skeptical upon reading last December, in an interview with British journalist D. Frost: "The war made an impression on my whole life.... I think I would be a little more uneasy about sending a man to war because I have seen the horrors of war..."

George Bush's subsequent "service record" looks, on the face of it at least, genuinely impressive. After Yale University the 24-year-old Bush, with a young wife and two small children, left the family home and headed for Texas "to find out what he was worth and what he could do," although not without the assistance of paternal connections and the financial support of a banker uncle, which, for perfectly obvious reasons, is mentioned only rarely. Having made his own first millions and fathered five children, Bush embarked on politics in 1963 as chairman of the Harris County Republican Party. A year later he made an unsuccessful attempt to get elected to the U.S. Senate, and in 1966 he became a member of the House of Representatives for Texas.

There followed many important posts for George Bush: U.S. permament representative to the United Nations (1970-1973), chairman of the Republican Party National Committee (1973-1974), leader of the liaison commission in Beijing (1974-1975), director of the CIA (1975-1977). The last post was vice president in the Reagan administration, having lost to Reagan in the fight for the presidential nomination in 1980. Thoughout his rise from one post to another Bush accumulated a great deal of political capital.

All that is true, but if life is composed of paradoxes, it has meted them out to Bush in full measure. Is it not paradoxical that, despite all the sonorous titles and the important experience of public life he has accumulated over 20 years, Bush has been labeled a "wimp"?

The vice president is well aware that he is definitely not a "television personality," television being all-powerful in America, able to crush and destroy unceremoniously, or elevate and enthrone. Whereas it was television that "made" Reagan, becoming his very effective ally, in Bush's case the opposite applies. They say that in the last 10 years he has tried hard to tame the television mustang, studying its customs and methods as assiduously as someone trying to master the intricacies of a foreign language. But despite the aid of numerous experts, he has not managed it. On the television screen he still gives the impression of a man out of his element.

If it were true that in the end it is the intellect that counts, then perhaps it would not matter. But the point is that the labels are pinned on Bush and the caustic questions are posed not only and not so much because of the way he comes across. What is it then?

For many Americans, alas, answering this question is still like reading the tea leaves—despite all his posts and the fact that Bush is well known in the country, and despite his brilliant election campaign, the rout of all the Republican rivals and his early victory at the party's national convention.

Specialists who have examined George Bush's long career see the root of the problem in the fact that he essentially remains a politician without his own political face. A politician who has deliberately tailored his views and his ego to the demands and requirements of those he has served. As for the reasons, opinion is divided—some say he lacked the "courage of his own convictions," others put it down to loyalty, modesty, and an aversion for self-advertisement, qualities molded in childhood. It is hard to say who is closer to the truth, but the facts are there—in all his posts in three Republican administrations Bush has been unenterprising and obedient. The vice president himself explained it as follows: "I am a practical man, and I like things that are real. I have no desire to lead crusades."

Under the present administration G. Bush certainly has not engaged in "crusades." His personal contribution to major White House decisions is basically little known or not known at all. It is reported, though, that Bush played a part in the president's moderation of his anti-Soviet fervor and switch to active dialogue with the USSR, marked by the conclusion of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. But to what extent Reagan actually listened to the vice president's advice, if that advice was ever given, is impossible to establish.

What is definitely known and is established is his apparent excessive devotion to the President on occasions, epitomized by his statement: "I support Reagan, blindly." I swear loyalty—unequivocally and without reservation—Bush said as soon as Reagan offered him, the beaten rival, the post of vice president in 1980. Since then he has been the President's shadow.

At the primaries Bush's distinct closeness to the President worked wonders. In most states, particularly in the south, where Reagan's popularity among Reoublican voters touched 80 percent, Bush was the President's "logical" successor.

Now, when appealing to the national audience, Bush falls between two fences. With the administration's imminent departure, Americans are tending to see Reagan, to quote TIME magazine, "more as a fine old relic than a revered symbol." If one accepts this, the dilemma facing Bush is obvious. There is no doubt that his aspiration to the role of keeper of the "Reagan legacy" can still give him some powerful trump cards. But the changing political climate in the country urgently requires a display of independence and the presentation of his own programs.

At the moment Bush's task is not to alienate the Reagan coalition and at the same time to hang on to the substantial block of Democrats and independents who voted for the President and without whom victory in November is impossible—but who are now returning to the opposition party's fold. Republican leaders are saying that the only solution is for Bush to "distance" himself from Reagan as soon as possible by demonstrating that he is his own man.

Public opinion polls on the eve of the Republican Convention in New Orleans showed that Bush's adjustment of his positions is not having any appreciable effect. According to a joint poll by NEWSWEEK magazine and the Gallup institute, Dukakis had a lead of 17 percent. This is not a catastrophe as yet, but it is worrying because it is clear that Bush's attempts to portray his rival as left-wing are not working, leading only to a greater shift toward the right by Bush himself. If on socioeconomic issues he is still managing to steer a course of moderate Republicanism, in the sphere of foreign and military policy Bush has never before strayed so far into the territory of the right-wing radicals. The vice president says that the cold war has not ended and that America must be ready for a "protracted conflict," and therefore it is necessary to develop the SDI system with a view to earliest deployment, build up strategic armaments, and so forth. He is extremely skeptical about restructuring in the USSR, giving the impression that we are supposed to present him with some kind of evidence of our "sincerity."

In principle, political chameleonism is not America's way, but the contrast between Bush's old and new statements is so striking that Dukakis quite rightly announced: "We (Dukakis and President Reagan) are much closer to one another in the sphere of Soviet-American relations than Reagan and Bush." Even the vice president's supporters are urging him to finally decide which of Reagan's mantles he wants to wear—the "evil empire" one or the one in which the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles was signed.

Have his advisers decided to adopt the once effective but now clearly anachronistic formula whereby tension with the Soviet Union has always benefited U.S. conservative forces? Will the U.S. voters, the vast majority of whom approve of dialogue and accords with the USSR, accept this reading of the requirements of the times? Or will the question be asked again: "Where was George when the mood changed in the country?"

It is not clear, but November is not far off....

Political Portrait of George Bush

PM1908120088 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 18 Aug 88 p 7

[APN and SOVETSKAYA KULTURA own correspondent Edgar Cheporov report under the rubric "Presidential Race-88": "George Bush: Program and Image"]

[Text] New York—I was in the auditorium at the Democrats' preelection convention in Atlanta when Senator Edward Kennedy asked in his speech: "Where was George?" Where was Vice President George Bush when "Irangate" was brewing? The senator moved on to other critical situations in the present administration's history, and each time the same question rang out. Soon, the auditorium began to chant after Kennedy: "Where was George?" A couple of days later I saw a man in the street wearing a badge with these words. An election speech by G. Bush at the other end of America, in California, was shown on television. Interrupting it, demonstrators chorused: "Where was George?" This question will doubtlessly pursue Bush until the closing stage of the election campaign.

Edward Kennedy found a formula to express the doubts and perplexities about the vice president that many, very many, of the voters feel. It transpires that G. Bush was not involved in any of the administration's actions that have aroused public displeasure. By virtue of his post, G. Bush was leader of the group which he himself set up for combating terrorism. No deals with terrorists, no exchange of hostages—that is the concept proposed by G. Bush. But "Irangate," as is now known, took place on entirely different, diametrically opposed principles. It is bad if G. Bush knew about the adventurist deals and kept quiet. George Shultz and Caspar Weinberger, for instance, objected. But it is just as bad if the vice president knew nothing about it. He should have known....

Both Bush himself and his entourage would very much like to present voters with a convincing example of successful activity by the vice president in his post, an example which would indicate the importance of that political figure. Again, it all comes down to the establishment of the group to combat terrorism. His supporters add, however, the recommendation made by G. Bush to start the armed invasion of Grenada. R. Reagan approved the recommendation, and that is the end of the list—it does not go as far as a catalog of achievements. But the difficult art of remaining on the sidelines, in Ronald Reagan's shadow, worked against George Bush. The closer the elections come, the more frequently Americans ask: "Who are you, George Bush?" Public opinion polls show the growing numbers of people for whom Bush's political image is more and more blurred, who do not know whether the Republicans' candidate is a conservative, a liberal, or a moderate.

Being the constant focus of attention from the press, listening to all kinds of assessments from it—which are often highly unflattering and, moreover, mutually exclusive—polemicizing with it, using it: This is the inevitable lot and task of an American presidential candidate. They call G. Bush a pragmatist, they write that he is not tough enough, or simply a "wimp," that he is governed by the instinct of self-preservation, that he shows "servility toward the conservatives," that he is a "consistent, predictable, and firm man." Let me note that both those who are sympathetic toward Bush and those who have entirely different feelings toward him emphasize that he is cultured and a rather old-fashioned gentleman.

True, the vice president, with his restrained, even inhibited manners, is not like the other political loudmouths. But that, I have often heard, is in fact a minus for G. Bush. Some people interpret restraint as dignity, others as inexpressiveness and even colorlessness. And Bush is more and more often forcing himself to play the part of a regular guy. I have seen him in a clown's hat, a baseball cap, and a construction worker's plastic helmet. A helmet and gold-framed spectacles... But these tried and tested tactics are not working too well. At the present stage of the campaign his popularity is lower than that of Goldwater, McGovern, Carter, and Mondale in the years they were defeated.

The following epithets are now applied more and more frequently to Bush: easy to get along with, dutiful, loyal. Here are a few of his sayings: "I follow Reagan—blindly," "I will never apologize for America, whatever the circumstances." In the era of the Vietnam war Republican G. Bush stated that he would support Democratic President L. Johnson "whatever weapons he uses in Southeast Asia." These statements, taken together now, give an impression of their author's mindset and the thrust of his political thinking. Bush himself, far from disowning these statements which he made at various times, believes they will help him to achieve his goal. And in general, the organizers of G. Bush's campaign are now forced to attach more significance to words and policy statements than are those in the M. Dukakis camp. The Republican strategists have come to a difficult decision—to shift the emphasis in G. Bush's campaign from his personal qualities to the merits of the program he proposes.

Why was this decision forced on them, and why was it difficult?

It is a peculiarity of American elections, part of their psychology, that what is known here as "character," the personality, the image of the candidate, receives enormous attention from both voters and those who seek election. At the Democratic Convention I learned to my astonishment that not just one, but several of the delegates I spoke with had not read and were not familiar with their party's program. It turned out to be a common phenomenon. Voters sensibly reason that what is important is not so much the program, which could be reshaped in the course of the new administration, and promises, which are never entirely fulfilled, but the personality of the leader, the sum of his human qualities. It is he and his entourage who give practical form to the intentions expressed during the struggle for the presidency. Gary Hart had a program that was very acceptable to many, but he failed to receive a single vote in the primaries. For purely moral reasons, Hart lost confidence in himself, and as a result withdrew.

A symbiosis of program and personality has always been the ideal here. It has not happened with Bush. He has not yet managed to win over the majority of the voters or arouse their emotions. G. Bush realizes the possible consequences of this and is trying to change the public's mood. When he was asked whether the "real George Bush" is different from the Bush that people see, the vice president replied: "Very different. I like to eat pork cracklings, yet they take me for a member of the elite." Quoting these words, the press is ironical—trying to pass himself off as an ordinary guy, G. Bush could find no stronger proof than "pork cracklings"....

What arguments are there in his program, which is now the main weapon in the rivalry with M. Dukakis? On domestic policy problems, it is carefully vague—the economy will develop, all social groups will have new opportunities, the institution of the family should be strengthened, and a blow should be struck against crime. But G. Bush places the emphasis not on domestic, but on foreign problems. A number of experts regard this emphasis as far from indisputable. Americans are tired of being intimidated with the "Russian threat," the reaction to it has "dulled" and, moreover, voters believe that the strengthening of the country's military potential and huge spending on military needs have ensured U.S. security.

It was in foreign policy that R. Reagan's loyal vice president decided to amend in his own way the administration's course on relations with the USSR. And not only recently. "The 'cold war' is not over," he stated, at the same time the U.S. President was at the summit meeting in Moscow. Will not this assessment lead you into conflict with the White House? Bush was asked. "I know what I'm saying," he replied. "Everything is okay." He probably does know. R. Reagan has just vetoed the bill on military appropriations in the new fiscal year. The President decided that $299.6 billion for defense is not enough. He himself, it must be observed, had requested far less. The veto is in favor of Bush, the veto is against the Democrats, who "do not pay due attention to defense questions." Michael Dukakis, Bush now repeats, "will make the world more dangerous."

The Republicans' candidate claims that in relations with the USSR he will operate in the spirit of the "agreements reached under R. Reagan." But he proposes to reduce mainly conventional arms, linking this process to the attainment of an agreement on strategic offensive arms. Here in America this approach is seen by supporters of disarmament as an obstacle to an accord on strategic offensive arms and as a basis for dragging out talks in this sphere. Concerning general problems of relations with the USSR, G. Bush emphasizes his skepticism about Soviet restructuring. In the party program, which he helped to compose, it is asserted that reaching agreement with the USSR became possible only thanks to the "tough policy" preached by the Republicans, and peace can be achieved only on one condition—on the basis of strength. G. Bush also deems it necessary to declare that he has "earned the support of the most conservative members of the Republican Party," earned it, he explains, thanks to his tougher attitude toward Moscow than President R. Reagan.

G. Bush's "tough" approach to the USSR, his tried and tested loyalty, his national experience, and his ostentatious bow before the conservatives attract a considerable proportion of voters. For many of them G. Bush is associated with R. Reagan, and he, it should not be forgotten, managed to become one of the most popular American presidents. But it is also true that the level of his popularity began to fall from the middle of his second term in office.

"Since last year," the FINANCIAL TIMES writes, "polls have shown consistently that many voters are no longer satisfied with the course the country is following, and a growing number of them think that the Democrats will cope better with certain key problems. One thing is clear—the country is preparing for enormous changes." In the course of the election campaign this trend is becoming increasingly marked. A poll just carried out by THE NEW YORK TIMES and CBS showed that if the elections were held today, half the voters would vote for M. Dukakis and only one-third for G. Bush. Political experts here believe that the outcome of the elections will be decided by the American "middle class."

Some 85 percent of Americans regard themselves as belonging to this social group, whether or not they have reason to. Who will do more for the "middle class"—the Democrats or the Republicans? Some 56 percent of those polled think the Democrats will, while 28 percent give their preference to the Republicans. It is also noteworthy that one in four of those who traditionally vote for the Republicans are now sure that the Democrats will be better partners for the "middle class." The compilers of the poll claim that it was G. Bush's nomination as Republican contender that led to the swing in favor of the Democrats. Now only 27 percent of those polled come out in favor of G. Bush, 33 percent against him, while the rest are undecided. That is the worst popularity rating of G. Bush's tenure as vice president.

The Republican leaders are not blind to the seriousness of the situation. Senator John McCain, who is to be one of the main speakers at the party convention, says: "After 8 years of the vice presidency and 1 year of the election campaign, George Bush still does not have a definite image in the eyes of the public." The senator thinks Bush has very few opportunities left to "tell the Americans who he is, what he stands for, what kind of future he has in store for us." Unless the vice president uses these opportunities, McCain warns, failure is inevitable. What are the opportunities? A speech at the preelection convention and television debates with Michael Dukakis. The significance of these events should not be underestimated. M. Dukakis' speech at the convention sharply increased his popularity.

Dukakis Cited on Deterrence, Arms Curbs

PM1908151388 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Aug 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Contender on U.S Foreign Policy"]

[Text] New York, 12 Aug—Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis, who is the Democratic Party's presidential candidate, spoke at New York University Thursday. Touching on problems of U.S. policy in the military sphere, he generally supported the American doctrine of "nuclear deterrence." The United States, he said, must have "sufficiently modern and versatile strategic forces."

At the same time the presidential candidate stated: "However, that does not require that we continue developing more and more costly nuclear arms systems, to which no end is in sight, when, thanks to President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev, we have probably the most favorable opportunity to make the world safe." According to him, this goal can be achieved by cutting strategic nuclear arsenals by 50 percent or more and by creating a barrier to the arms race on earth and in outer space. Moreover, Dukakis spoke in favor of an agreed reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe while insisting, nevertheless, that such a reduction be greater on the Warsaw Pact side. The United States and the USSR, he stressed, must endeavor to impart a "more peaceful and less dangerous direction" to the competition between them.

U.S. Congressman Meets Soviet Officials

Briefed by Demichev

LD1908141688 Moscow TASS in English 1341 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 19 TASS—Today Pyotr Demichev, alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Comittee and first vice president of the USSR Supreme Soviet, received in the Kremlin Stephen Solarz, member of the U.S. House of Representatives.

At Stephen Solarz' request, Pyotr Demichev dwelt at length on some questions of practical realization of the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference, which concern various aspects of implementing perestroyka. It was pointed out that the full use of the forces of democracy and people's socialist self-government was the basis for successful translation into life of the plans of social and economic development. The reform of the political system during which the Communist Party acts as the driving force of perestroyka, its initiator and leader, opens a new stage in the activities of soviets of people's deputies at all levels, including the USSR Supreme Soviet. The guest was told about directions of perestroyka and reorganization of soviets' activities.

The first vice president pointed to the integral link between perestroyka in the Soviet Union and the new political thinking in international affairs. Describing the present state of Soviet-American relations which were put to safer way than before, the Soviet statesman emphasized the importance of continuing the disarmament process started by the USSR and the USA, strengthening mutual confidence and of expanding relations in economy, trade, ecology and humanitarian contacts.

Congressman Solarz expressed satisfaction with the substantive nature of the Moscow talks which enabled him to understand better various aspects of the Soviet Union's domestic and foreign policies. He said that his country was following with great attention sweeping changes in the USSR and noted that their successful implementation would be used for the good of both the Soviet people and world nations, including the American people.

Talks With Petrovskiy

LD2008154888 Moscow TASS in English 1300 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 20 TASS—Stephen Solarz, member of the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress, visiting Moscow, on Friday met Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy foreign minister of USSR. They held a detailed exchange of views on prospects for Soviet-American relations, promoting trust as the basis for ensuring security equal to all, and also on a wide range of international problems.

They noted that in our interdependent world the development of bilaterral relations is indisoluble from political constructiveness at multilateral forums and negotiations.

Senators 'Interfering' on Baltic States

LD1908171488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1445 GMT 19 Aug 88

[From "The World Today" program presented by Igor Kudrin]

[Text] Yesterday every bulletin from Washington carried as practically its first new item a report on a letter from a group of U.S. senators. The message is addressed to the CPSU Central Committee and demands the granting of independence to the Baltic republics. In the senators' opinion, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia were allegedly annexed by the Soviet Union and to this day their peoples continue to be oppressed. This Western version of the forcible incorporation of the Baltic republics is not new. But the U.S. fathers of democracy should stop interfering in other people's affairs. They should let the Baltic peoples assess their past, judge their present, and determine their future for themselves. The U.S. congressmen can examine the history of their own country to their heart's content, especially how and at the expense of which states the country expanded. But in order to interfere in the history of another country one has to at least know that history, and know it well and not from the malicious and unobjective reports of the Washington press.

Our public has always considered the year 1940 as the year of socialist revolution in the Baltic region. The overwhelming majority of people in Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia at that time made their choice in favor of socialism and voluntarily spoke out in favor of joining the Soviet Union. Otherwise service to Hitler would have awaited them, or even anihilation.

As for the Soviet-German Nonaggression Pact of 23 August 1939, which the senators are brandishing, we have repeatedly explained what it was dictated by: only by the threat of a new world war which was to begin literally several days later, and only by the extraordinary circumstances in which our country found itself. The Soviet proposals for the creation of collective security in Europe did not find support in the West. The appeal by the U.S. senators is supposed to be dictated by a desire to improve mutual understanding between the Soviet Union and the United States. In fact it is pursuing another aim—to sow dissension among the peoples of the Soviet Union. Political provocations have never served to improve interstate relations.

Reagan Signs Bill Funding Space Program

LD2108081088 Moscow TASS in English 0620 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Text] Washington August 21 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Orekhov:

President Reagan signed into law on Saturday the bill appropriating funds for the functioning of a number of U.S. Administration's departments and the implementation of a number of NASA programmes—the creation of the orbital space station "Freedom" and continued flights of reusable spaceships.

The President, who is currently on holiday in California, said that the construction of a space station would help towards broadening the vistas of science and strengthening cooperation in outer space between the United States and its allies. The bill also provides for the necessary appropriations on the restoration in the country of its potential in the field of reusable spaceships, which is necessary in the interests of national security and effective use of outer space for meeting the country's economic requirements, the President noted.

The bulk of the funds set aside for work to create a space station, will, however, be frozen at the request of the Congress until next May, when the next U.S. President will again examine the question of the priorities of the U.S. outer space programme.

China

Zhao Ziyang Remarks on Summit Terms Noted

PM2208105788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Aug 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: The PRC's Stance"]

[Text] Beijing, 18 Aug—CPC Central Committee General Secretary Zhao Ziyang has been interviewed by the KYODO news agency. The interview, an account of which was broadcast by the XINHUA agency, touched on the PRC's stance on a number of international problems and certain questions of Chinese domestic policy as well.

Talking about the prospects for a Sino-Soviet summit, the CPC Central Committee general secretary linked them to the solution of the Cambodian problem. An essential condition of the meeting, he said, is the "complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia." "The day of the meeting between the two countries' leaders will come" when the conditions are right.

Zhao Ziyang hoped that the upcoming working meeting between Chinese and Soviet deputy foreign ministers on questions relating to a Cambodian settlement would be successful.

In Jakarta recently, Zhao Ziyang pointed out, there was an unofficial meeting on Cambodia at the which the interested sides sat down at the negotiating table for the first time, which reflects a common trend in the world today—the solution of regional conflicts by means of dialogue. He expressed the hope that the sides will make further efforts to bring about a just and reasonable solution of the Cambodian question and confirmed that China is "opposed to there being just one side in power and also opposed to the ousting of any side."

Concerning the domestic situation in the PRC, the CPC Central Committee general secretary stressed that the next 5 years will be a "most important historical period of transition from the old economic system to a new one."

Zhao Ziyang named as one of the basic questions more thorough reform at enterprises. Without improving efficiency at enterprises it is difficult to ensure the success of price reform.

Touching on the question of Taiwan, Zhao Ziyang expressed the hope that there will be a further broadening of ties between the two shores of the Formosa Strait and that the prospect of the unification of China will draw nearer, as he put it.

Chinese, Soviet Views on World Conflicts Noted

OW1908082688 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 17 Aug 88

[Text] Listeners, let us take a few minutes to talk about international issues. Station observer Comrade Mulatov and I will talk about the problem of mediating regional conflicts. His part in our dialogue will be read by announcer Xiang Xiangjun.

What new and hopeful situation has occurred lately in the world's major hot spots? This is the first question I raised with observer Mulatov.

First, like the Soviet press, the Chinese press is giving more and more coverage to the problem just raised by Comrade Wang Xiao. That is, the development of the situation in the regions at the source of tension. Judging by and analyzing our two country's presses, I can say that the public of the Soviet Union and China satisfactorily and optimistically assess the current development of the situation in many regions.

In view of the fact that the Soviet Union and China do not always share the same attitude when it comes to specific issues on the political settlement of regional conflict, could you say something about the factor that makes the Soviet and Chinese social public cherish the hope?

All right. I must first of all point out that the Soviet Union and China share, or nearly share, an identical position on a political solution to the conflict between Iran and Iraq, and on using peaceful means to solve the conflicts in Central America, the Near East, and southern Africa.

But the Soviet Union and China diverge on solving the Cambodian issue.

I shall talk about this problem later. Now, let's talk about the factor making the Soviet and Chinese public cherish the hope. For example, the United Nations-mediated ceasefire agreement between Iran and Iraq will come into effect on 20 August. The Soviet Union and China have been making persistent efforts, both in and outside the United Nations, to bring about a halt in the military conflict between Iran and Iraq, and urging conflicting parties to begin political talks. Now, the United Nations is forming UN military observer groups. These observers will begin arriving in Iran and Iraq to monitor the two countries' implementation of the agreement on stopping military action. The development of the situation there is not only encouraging to the Soviet and Chinese public, but also to all the people in the world. However, I would like to stress another point. Both the Soviet Union and China hold identical attitudes on solving the conflict in that region. Also, there exists a big possibility between the two largest socialist countries of effective coordination in other regions.

It is learned that a deputy foreign ministerial-level meeting between the Soviet Union and China will begin on 27 August in Beijing to discuss the problem of solving the Cambodian issue. What is your comment on this decision to hold the meeting?

I am very much pleased with the fact that the Soviet Union and China will hold a meeting on solving the Cambodian issue. Because dialogue is a way which will lead to mutual reconciliation, help find a mutually acceptable solution, and help formulate a mutually coordinating [sentence interrupted]. I am convinced that the Soviet and Chinese public welcome the forthcoming meeting in Beijing. There are more and more positive factors and hope-bringing situations in many hot-point areas. Regrettably, there are also many serious negative factors. For example, Pakistan regularly violates the Geneva accord on the Afghan issue. We shall deal more with this problem in our next program.

PRC Foreign Trade Development Observed

LD2108173388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1030 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Text] Beijing, 21 Aug (TASS)—TASS correspondent Marat Abulkhatin reports: The further development and improvement of the structure of foreign economic ties is one of the most important lines of the reform of the economic system under way in the PRC.

A typical feature of the country's foreign economic activity is the increase first of all in exporting products. A government decision to grant local authority bodies and various foreign trading companies greater independence in establishing contacts with foreign partners has played the part of an incentive. Along with this, particularly in accordance with the strategy of developing maritime areas, production bases for export products are being set up throughout the country. Enterprises are being equipped with modern equipment and technology which facilitate raising the quality of the products manufactured and the competitiveness of Chinese goods on the international market.

The volume of the PRC's foreign trade is growing constantly. Thus, according to the statistics, the overall volume of exports and imports in the first 6 months of the current year amounted to $7.63 billion, which is 10.7 percent more than the same period last year. Exports amounts to $3.69 billion and imports to $3.94 billion.

China's main partners are Hong Kong, Japan, the United States, and the countries of Western Europe. The volume of trade with the Soviet Union has grown over recent years.

First Group Of PRC Tourists Arrive in Khabarovsk

LD2108145988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1005 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Text] Khabarovsk, 21 Aug (TASS)—The first tourist group from the PRC arrived today in Khabarovsk, the kray center in the Far East of the USSR. It marks the beginning of the implementation of the accord on direct noncurrency exchange of tourists concluded between the Khabarovsk Department of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Tourism and the tourism directorate of the adjoining province of Heilongjiang.

"This visit opens a large-scale cooperation program," Song Huafeng deputy chief of the Tourism Directorate of the Heilongjiang Province, said. "This year, we plan to send two more tourist groups to Khabarovsk Kray, and we expect three groups of Soviet guests in Harbin."

In the course of their 1-week stay, the Chinese guests will acquaint themselves with sights of Khabarovsk and Birobidzhan, meet with representatives of the public, activists of the local department of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society.

Northeast Asia

Japanese Governors' Group Arrives in Moscow

OW2008124488 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] The first group of representatives of Japanese governors and mayors arrived in Moscow last night. The delegation includes Yomaguchi Prefecture Governor Shirai, Okinawa Prefecture Governor Nishime, Osaka City Mayor Nishimura, Hokkaido Prefecture Deputy Governor Ariko, Mie Prefecture Deputy Governor Kurokawa, and Fukuoka Prefecture Deputy Governor Hayashi.

The party met with RSFSR Deputy Chairman Kazakov, Deputy Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Vorontsov, and USSR Chamber of Commerce Deputy Chairman Garanov today.

The group will be joined by another party of six governors arriving from Japan in a few days, led by Tokyo Metropolitan Mayor Suzuki, who is also chairman of the Japan Governors' Committee.

These Japanese governors will attend the 10th Japan-USSR Governors' Conference opening in Moscow on 25 August. The conference is held between Japanese governors and Soviet oblast executive committee chairmen.

The Japanese governors' delegation is scheduled to visit Leningrad and Volgograd after Moscow.

First Visit Since 1979

LD2008004488 Moscow TASS in English 2320 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 19 TASS—The current changes in the Soviet Union are laying down a favourable foundation for expanding mutually-beneficial Soviet-Japanese cooperation, K. Abiko, vice-governor of the Japanese Island of Hokkaido, told TASS. He noted a positive role of the current Soviet radical economic reform in establishing economic contacts between the two countries.

K. Abiko had arrived in the Soviet Union as member of a Japanese delegation which will be attending the 10th meeting of Japanese governors with chairmen of the executive committees of the district and regional soviets of people's deputies in Moscow.

Taking part in the meeting will be the governors of Japan's main prefectures, including S. Suzuki, chairman of the National Council of Japanese Governors and the governor of Tokyo.

The current meeting will be the first to be held since 1979. The resumption of this interrupted tradition indicates definite changes in the thinking of Japanese political leaders.

Today, the Japanese governors were received by Vasiliy Kazakov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation. The Japanese guests were told about the forthcoming reform of the Soviet political system.

The sides also discussed issues related to the further development of bilateral relations and expansion of contacts between the Russian Federation and Japan in various fields.

The Japanese governors are to visit Volgograd and Leningrad before the meeting begins.

Japanese Media Cited on Developing Relations

OW1908091688 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Commentary by TASS political observer Askold Biryukov on Soviet-Japanese relations]

[Excerpts] In the wake of a visit last month to the Soviet Union by Mr Nakasone, a well-known Japanese politician and former prime minister, the Japanese news media have become active in debating the prospect of developing Soviet-Japanese relations.

Various views have been expressed. Some say that unless the Soviet Union accepts the Japanese demand concerning the so-called territorial issue, there should be absolutely no improvement in relations with the Soviet Union. Others hold the view that Japan should take a new look at the present condition of bilateral relations and restructure its Soviet policy on the basis of a new way of thinking.

TOKYO SHIMBUN of 17 August, for example, writes: As a result of the Moscow talks between General Secretary Gorbachev and former Prime Minister Nakasone, a sign has emerged that the Soviet stance toward Japan may change. It may not be wrong to think that considerable progress can be expected in Japanese-Soviet relations, which have begun slipping out of a long winter.

On the revival of Soviet-Japanese top-level dialogue, TOKYO SHIMBUN also writes: Today when the Soviet Union is taking measures to help its relations with Japan move out of an impasse, it may be necessary for Japan to reciprocate.

TOKYO SHIMBUN is not the only newspaper which brings up such questions. Immediately after former Prime Minister Nakasone's visit to the Soviet Union, ASAHI SHIMBUN wrote: The time has come when the Japanese Government should calmly and flexibly appreciate the goodwill of the Soviet Union through various channels. [passage omitted]

Of course, should the rational and well-thought-out approach indicated in these remarks spread to the political sector, it probably would help Soviet-Japanese relations out of the winter age.

If relations between the Soviet Union and Japan, which are geographically close to each other, should continue to be cool even today when the advent of detente is an international phenomenon, it would be ridiculous.

The Soviet Union has made and is even now making enough constructive proposals to Japan. Japan has not always accepted these proposals affirmatively, but this is not the fault of the Soviet Union.

But it is also true that some quarters in the Japanese Government, being unable to do away with the old stereotype, try to make the Soviet Union's positive approach toward developing relations with Japan, which was confirmed during former Prime Minister Nakasone's visit to the Soviet Union, look like a sham.

Those who hold this view explain that the Soviets have a unilateral interest in Japan's economic power and advanced technology, thus trying to thrust their demands on the Soviet Union in that context.

This method is removed from reality, and it should be emphasized that it will be of no help at all to improving relations between the Soviet Union and Japan. Soviet-Japanese relations can develop only when both sides make efforts to that end.

Korean Liberation Day Celebrated in Moscow

SK2208073688 Moscow International Service in Korean 1330 GMT 12 Aug 88

[Text] A commemorative gathering was held at the Friendship Hall in Moscow on the occasion of the 43rd anniversary of the Korean liberation from Japanese colonial rule by the Soviet army. The participants at the gathering warmly welcomed the Korean guests; Kwon Hui-kyong, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary; and staffers of the DPRK Embassy in the Soviet Union.

Retired Lieutenant General Vasiliy Lyakhov, who participated in the Korean liberation war, spoke at the gathering. In the name of the participants, Gen Lyakhov extended sincere congratulations to the representatives of the fraternal Korean people on the anniversary of the liberation.

Korea was liberated as a result of the defeat of the Japanese imperialist reactionary forces by the Soviet armed forces. Gen Lyakhov stated that the Soviet Union, by (?defeating) Japan, fulfilled its pledge and international duty as an ally.

He went on to add: I was one of the men and officers of the Soviet army who first entered Korea in August 1945. I remember the warm welcome the Korean urban and rural residents, who considered us their liberators, extended to our men and officers of the Soviet army.

Everywhere our army units went, emotional encounters took place. This was natural, because the men and officers of the Soviet Army entered Korea as brothers. They defeated the Japanese imperialist colonialists, helped the Korean people to be freed from the aggressors' rule of many years, and offered assistance to the people of the northern half in rehabilitating the people's economy.

Gen Vasiliy Lyakhov went on to add: The DPRK founding in 1948 was a great gain for the North Korean working people. In September this year, the Soviet people, along with the fraternal Korean working people, will celebrate the 40th anniversary of the founding of the DPRK, which has won great successes in industry, agriculture, science, and technology.

Gen Lyakhov stated that the friendship and cooperation between the people of the Soviet Union and Korea are being ceaselessly developed and strengthened. He wished the DPRK working people even greater success.

At the gathering, Comrade Kwon Hui-kyong, DPRK ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in the Soviet Union, spoke.

The ambassador expressed thanks for the warm and friendly remarks extended to the working people of the People's Korea on the occasion of liberation day. He noted the decisive role of the Soviet army in defeating the Japanese aggressors and guaranteeing freedom and independence for the Korean people. He stated that this paved the way for the Korean people's establishment of a new life.

Ambassador Kwon Hui-kyong stated that the Korean people have not forgotten the liberators—the men and officers of the Soviet army. He said that they extend gratitude to them.

On Soviet-Korean friendship, Ambassador Kwon Hui-kyong noted with satisfaction that the friendship is developing comprehensively and profitably. He expressed thanks to the Soviet people who invariably support and encourage the Korean people's struggle for the withdrawal of the U.S. forces from South Korea and the reunification of the country on a democratic foundation.

In conclusion, Ambassador Kwon Hui-kyong wished all the Soviet people new success and the successful accomplishment of the tasks that the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th (?plenary meeting of All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions) put forth for the Soviet working people.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Maung Maung Elected Burmese Party Chairman

BK1908122788 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] It has been learned that a special meeting of the Burma Socialist Program Party [BSPP] Central Committee was held in Rangoon today. The meeting elected Dr Maung Maung, a well-known attorney, as the new leader of the Lanzin Party [BSPP].

The former leaders had to resign from their positions following nationwide antigovernment demonstrations in recent weeks.

According to an AFP report yesterday, 15,000 people took part in demonstrations in Rangoon while over 100,000 took part in demonstrations in Mandalay and Monywa.

The demonstrators called for fundamental reforms to overcome political and economic problems prevailing in the country. The authorities have made some concessions.

LOKTHA PYEITHU NEZIN newspaper has reported that Burmese and foreign entrepreneurs will be allowed to work in the mining, forestry, livestock breeding, and fisheries sectors. These sectors were formerly monopolized by the state sector.

Near East & South Asia

Reportage on Ziaul Haq's Death, Consequences

Astrauskas-Led Party Arrives

LD1908185388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Islamabad, 19 Aug (TASS)—A Soviet delegation headed by V. Astrauskas, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has arrived here to take part in the funeral of Ziaul Haq, president of Pakistan.

The delegation was met at Islamabad airport by Sumro, Pakistan's minister of information; by V. Yakonin, Soviet ambassador to Pakistan; and by official representatives of the Pakistani Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Delegation Attends Funeral

LD2008143288 Moscow TASS in English 1412 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] Islamabad August 20 TASS—The funeral of General Ziaul Haq, president of Pakistan, who died in a plane crash on August 17 was held here today. Representatives of some 70 countries, U.N. and other international organizations, including some 30 heads of state and their assistants came to Islamabad to pay their last respect to the Pakistani president. A Soviet delegation led by V. Astrauskas, deputy president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, also attended the funeral.

Astrauskas Meets Acting Leader

LD2008175788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1725 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Excerpts] Islamabad, 20 Aug (TASS)—Today the funeral for President Ziaul Haq, killed in a plane crash on 17 August, was held here. [passage omitted] A Soviet delegation led by V.S. Astrauskas, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, took part in the funeral. The delegation laid a wreath on the grave of the deceased on behalf of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The same day, V.S. Astrauskas was received by Ghulam Ishaq Khan, who has assumed the post of acting president of Pakistan. On behalf of the Soviet leadership, he expressed to the Pakistani leader profound condolences on the tragic death of General Ziaul Haq. Questions of Soviet-Pakistani relations and the situation in the region were touched on in a fundamental way during the conversation. The joint desire was expressed to develop good-neighborly relations between the USSR and Pakistan in the interests of Asian and international peace and security. Pakistani Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister V.G. Komplektov, and Soviet Ambassador to Pakistan V.P. Yakunin also took part in the meeting.

Delegation Departs 21 Aug

LD2108092488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0815 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Text] Islamabad, 21 Aug (TASS)—The Soviet delegation led by V.S. Astrauskas, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which attended the funeral of Pakistani President Ziaul Haq, left here today for home.

The Soviet delegation was seen off from Islamabad airport by Wasim Sajjad, Pakistan's minister for justice and parliamentary affairs.

PRAVDA Report on Developments

PM1908140788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Aug 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS reports from Islamabad and Delhi and own correspondent V. Korovikov report from Delhi under the general heading: "Situation in Pakistan"]

[Text] Islamabad, 18 Aug—Pakistani Senate Chairman Ghulam Ishaq Khan, who, in accordance with the Constitution, assumed the duties of head of state following the death of the country's president, Ziaul Haq, in an air crash, made a statement today on national radio and television. He announced the imposition of a state of emergency in Pakistan while stressing that the Constitution continues to remain in effect. A 10-day mourning period has been declared in Pakistan. All state institutions and educational establishments are closed for 3 days. The parliamentary election set for 16 November will be held as planned, Ghulam Ishaq Khan said, and the existing federal and provincial governments will continue to function. There will be no changes in the country's foreign policy. Ghulam Ishaq Khan announced that Pakistan will fulfill all its international commitments.

The new leader also announced the establishment of an emergency council comprising five central government ministers, provincial chief ministers and governors, and the chiefs of staff of the three branches of the Armed Forces. General Mirzah Aslam Beg, former chief of staff of Pakistani ground forces, was appointed chief of staff.

The emergency council has decided that the Army is responsible for maintaining law and order in Pakistan. Servicemen have intensified the protection of state institutions and are patrolling the streets.

Ghulam Ishaq Khan announced that the investigation of the causes of the air crash had begun. Pointing out that Ziaul Haq's aircraft had blown up in midair, he did not rule out the possibility of sabotage.

The Pakistani authorities have accepted a proposal by the U.S. administration that U.S. experts should participate in the investigation into the disaster, in which A. Raphel, U.S. ambassador to Pakistan, and Brigadier General H. Wassom, head of the U.S. military mission in Pakistan, died with Ziaul Haq. News agencies note that they were on their way to trials of the U.S. M-1 tank, which Islamabad was intending to buy from the United States.

Delhi, 18 Aug—In an interview with foreign journalists, Benazir Bhutto, cochairman of the major opposition Pakistan People's Party (PPP), expressed confidence that democratic changes in the country will be accelerated. The PPP and other Pakistani opposition parties, she said, are prepared to participate in these processes which must fully accord with the Constitution and contribute to strengthening stability. We are satisfied with the transfer of power in the country to the Pakistani Senate chairman, in accordance with the Constitution, and we intend to contribute to the people's election of a government and to the granting of complete authority to it. Ziaul Haq governed by coercion, she noted. The veil of fear in the country has now dropped and the people will step up the struggle for democracy, Benazir Bhutto stressed.

Delhi, 18 Aug—There is extensive comment in the Indian media on the political consequences of the death of Pakistani President Gen Ziaul Haq in an air crash.

There are many newspaper commentaries on the late president. In an editorial "Pakistan Without Zia," the paper TIMES OF INDIA says that the general tried to solve Pakistan's many difficult problems by authoritarian, dictatorial policies and by fostering Muslim fundamentalism. "Democracy to him was a synonym of anarchy," the paper writes. The acute and urgent problem of the day, the paper PATRIOT notes, "is Pakistan's fulfillment of its commitments under the Geneva accords which it is obviously violating. As is known, Ziaul Haq signed the agreements in Geneva only under great pressure, and he openly backed the most bellicose, fanatical Afghan emigre groups."

...The circumstances of the disaster are not yet clear, and various versions are being suggested. But certain people in Pakistan are attempting to inflame passions and are making accusations against India and Afghanistan. Moreover, pro-Pakistani Muslim fundamentalist groupings in the state of Jammu and Kashmir organized provocative demonstrations yesterday and today in the city of Srinagar.

Ziaul Haq Regime's 'Torture' Noted

LD1908165188 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in English 1400 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] A state of emergency has been imposed in Pakistan. Strong units of policemen and soldiers are patrolling the capital and the streets of the biggest cities. A special commission is investigating the cause of the plane crash aboard which President Ziaul Haq, a number of heads of the country's Armed Forces, and the United States Ambassador to Pakistan, Raphel, were killed.

One of the assumptions is that the plane crashed into a helicopter, while another is that it may have been sabotage. General Ziaul Haq, it must be admitted, had more than enough enemies. Mass demonstrations and protest meetings of Pakistani citizens in Karachi, Rawalpindi, Peshawar, Lahore, and other cities were annually held on the initiative of the opposition parties of the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy on 5 July, the date of Ziaul Haq's military coup. The demonstrators demanded the immediate resignation of the head of the regime, the holding of general elections on a democratic basis, a halt to the interferences in the affairs of neighboring countries, and the annulment of the shackling military and political alliance with Washington, in which Islamabad has been assigned the role of a horse with Washington as the jockey.

No Pakistani people were fooled by Ziaul Haq's attempts to knock down the wave of indignation over the widely advertised lifting of the martial law, by the false Islamization of the attempts to create an appearance of democratization when a few functionaries of the opposition parties were released from prison along with many criminals. The military regime had brutally crushed any indication of freedom of thought and disagreement with the official policy. That is why thousands of patriots are behind bars and are being tortured: Veterans of the national liberation movements, members of the free Pushtu and Baluchi tribes, Army officers, and even those who had put Ziaul Haq in power.

A letter has been published that has been written by four former officers of the Pakistani Army from Fort Attock, who were sentenced to long prison terms on trumped-up charges, fabricated by the special police, who employed torture to force confessions from them. The former officers stressed that among those who have been tortured and killed were many leaders and activists of the opposition parties whom the military regime had proclaimed to be missing.

And although Gen Ziaul Haq tried to convince everyone that his policy was working smoothly in that disturbed region of Asia, and that thanks to it Pakistan had been turned into an island of stability, the situation was actually becoming increasingly tense in the country. Former Federal Minister Mubashir Hasan has characterized the situation in Pakistan as critical. He noted that the state apparatus is practically paralyzed, that the influence of various armed groups was growing, and that their activities are threatening Pakistan's very existence. The reason for this is the foreign and defense policy of the authorities, and first and foremost, their hostile course toward Afghanistan. This applies to the huge debts for the mountains of American arms that have to be paid for at a price of liquidating and curtailing the last social programs. It also applies to the wave of crime and drug addiction, both of which stem from the bands of the so-called alliance of irreconcilables who had the personal patronage of Ziaul Haq; and it also applies to the fact that Islamabad today is viewed as a tool for American interferences in the affairs of Afghanistan and India, as a source of tensions in Asia.

It is therefore not surprising in the least that the United States Secretary of State George Shultz stressed that Ziaul Haq's death is a very big loss for Pakistan as well as for the movements of Afghan guerrillas in furture. The acting president of Pakistan, the chairman of the Senate, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, has proclaimed that the country's foreign policy course would remain immutable. That means the problems facing the country in the years of Ziaul Haq's stay in power will remain. However, it is hardly likely that they will be solved with the help of the state of emergency.

VOA Comment on Pakistan Viewed

LD1908204688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1445 GMT 19 Aug 88

[From "The World Today" program presented by Igor Kudrin]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Many foreign observers note that President Zia's death casts a question mark over the future of Afghan antigovernment forces whose bases are located in Pakistan. From this point of view, a Voice of America commentary expressing Washington's official opinion is of interest. Here are just a few sentences from the commentary: Pakistan, under the leadership of Ziaul Haq, cooperated closely with the United States, especially in events connected with Afghanistan. Ziaul Haq headed the efforts to aid the fighters against the Kabul regime and the Soviet military contingent. The president has been killed, but the cause of Afghanistan's freedom lives on.

What a commentary; you cannot discern if it expresses grief over the death of the Pakistani leader or over the development of events in the state neighboring Pakistan.

Pakistan Suspects 'Sabotage'

LD2008061988 Moscow TASS in English 0604 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] Islamabad August 20 TASS—TASS correspondent Yuriy Denisov reports:

Federal government officials tend to believe that an act of sabotage was the cause of the air crash in which President Ziaul Haq died. It is supposed that this action was perfectly planned and faultlessly executed, the newspaper MUSLIM points out. An explosive device might have been installed in the plane.

Another view is also expressed about a possible destruction of the presidential aircraft by a missile fired from the ground. But all officials firmly believe that the air crash was not accidental. They allude to statements by aircraft experts who assure that the C-130 aircraft is one of the safest military transport planes and the likelihood of its explosion due to some technical malfunction is minimal.

Four groups of servicemen, representing the Army, the Air Force and the Ministry of the Interior are conducting independently an investigation into the causes of the in-flight explosion currently. Eight experts on explosive devices and substances, aircraft specialists, who arrived from the United States Friday, joined them.

TASS Says Pakistani Troops Aiding Mujahidin

LD2208122688 Moscow TASS in English 1136 GMT 22 Aug 88

["Afghanistan—Pakistani Troops Involved in Fighting"—TASS headline]

[Text] Kabul August 22 TASS—Following the tragic developments in Konduz which had been held by anti-government rebels for several days, the centre of hostilities in Afghanistan has again moved to southern and eastern provinces.

BAKHTAR news agency reported today that Afghan Army units attacked in the past twenty-four hours anti-government formations in Paktia, Nangarhar, Konar and Qandahar Provinces.

A group of forty extremists who infiltrated inside Afghan territory from Pakistan was routed in the border area of Qandahar Province.

In Paktia, security was being restored in the Seyyed Karam District from where rebels had been shelling the city of Gardeyz.

On Sunday, the Afghan Army captured several more rocket launchers and destroyed ten rebels.

To prevent the bombardment of Kabul, mopping-out operations were being conducted on the outskirts of the Afghan capital.

The situation in Shakar Darreh had aggravated as the mujahidins concentrated large forces in the area. BAKHTAR reported that Afghan Government troops had killed several extremists, including the head of an Islamic Party of Afghanistan (IPA) gang, Sufi Sharif, in an operation in that region.

According to reports from Konar Province, armed opposition units subjected to massive artillery bombardment the village of Sarkan and the positions of an Afghan Army unit deployed near that populated locality.

The extremists used shells and mines believed to be stuffed with toxic agents. This supposition is based on the following facts: the cloud that formed after explosions was drifted away from the unit's positions and the village and covered a live-stock herd, causing the loss of cattle.

Fresh reports have emerged about the participation of Pakistani servicemen in fighting on Afghan territory. The deployment of a unit of 400 Pakistani troops armed with howitzers, mortars and large-calibre machine-guns began south of the city of Khowst late in July. Howitzer positions have been set up in this district, located 25 kilometres from the district's administrative centre, for shelling Khowst.

30 Pakistani troops armed with Blowpipe anti-air rockets were seen around Ghulamkhan, Khowst District. The Pakistanis provide anti-aircraft cover for anti-government groups based in the district.

The escalation of subversive and terrorist activities encounters resistance even on the part of some armed forces hostile to the central authorities. The members of three Islamic Party of Afghanistan groups operating around Jalalabad, Nangarhar Province, returned weapons delivered from Pakistan and demanded that the opposition leaders stop the shelling of the city.

An armed group of 12 men from Qarah Bagh District, Kabul Province, took the side of the government.

The abduction in Peshawar of the brother of the rebel leader operating in north-eastern Afghanistan, Ahmad Shah Mas'ud, might heighten differences within the armed opposition.

The search for the kidnapped has so far produced no results, although the abduction occurred several weeks ago. Ahmad Shah Mas'ud accused the IPA leader, Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, of the kidnapping and demanded his brother's release. According to reports reaching from Konduz, the consequences of the short-lived rule of the rebel groups are being eliminated in that north Afghan city.

Konduz residents yesterday helped rebuild houses and restore state offices and enterprises destroyed in the fighting.

The state helped 640 families in the city of Ghazni which was also affected by the fighting. The residents of the city and the population of nearby villages received 82 tons of wheat, 160 kg of sugar, shoes and clothing free of charge.

Resistance Attacks Soviet Troops in Afghanistan

LD2008221188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 20 Aug 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; Mikhail Leshchinskiy report from Kabul over video]

[Text] [Video shows Soviet troops standing in line] It happened at the height of a hot day in Kabul. At this time of day in Soviet units, the morning's work was drawing to a close: The hottest hours after noon are given over to rest. On the parade ground beside the barrack buildings, the line for lunch was forming. As is the custom, the first subunits were already proceeding into the dining room, singing, when the explosions of rocket shells rang out. According to information later learned, the shells were Arab-made, and the shelling was carried out from launchers mounted on motor vehicles. In a matter of minutes, 46 rocket shells were fired at the location of the Guards Airborne Assault Force stationed near Kabul's airfield. [video shows troops in line, brief shot of helicopters overhead, troops marching in formation, troops in canteen. Film cuts to shots of empty building with damaged window and exterior, outside of which a Colonel V. Denisov—identified by caption—is interviewed]

[Begin recording] [Denisov] Thanks to the vigilance of our Soviet soldiers, only buildings were destroyed. We did not suffer any casualties. This is evidence of the fact that the enemy, despite the Geneva agreements, is bringing in supplies, mainly from Pakistan, with convoys traveling literally day and night to the central region, the heart of the Republic of Afghanistan, the town of Kabul.

[Leshchinskiy] Half the limited contingent of our troops is already home. They have crossed the border of war and peace, as we say. You and your combat comrades are to stay here several more months. The situation is becoming more complicated. What is the mood of the personnel under such conditions?

[Denisov] I can tell you that despite all the enemy's attempts to break the fighting spirit of our Soviet soldiers, they will not succeed. All installations presently under the protection of our Soviet soldiers will remain safe, and we will not allow the spirit of Soviet soldiers to be broken. [end recording]

Truck Bomb Injures 6 Kabul Civilians

LD2008161888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1537 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] Kabul, 20 Aug (TASS)—A truck packed with explosives exploded at about 1100 today on Maywand Wat, one of the central streets in the Afghan capital. The BAKHTAR agency reports it was civilian residents that suffered as a result of this act of terrorism: Six people were injured, including two women and a child.

Opposition's Capture of Konduz Analyzed

TV Interviews Kabul's Karwal

LD2108205988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Mikhail Leshchinskiy recorded report from the "International Panorama" program, presented by Gennadiy Gerasimov]

[Text] [Leshchinskiy] These shots were filmed only about 2 weeks ago, but already they have become historical chronicles. This was the end of the first stage of the return of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. You are watching this take place in Konduz, a major provincial center in the north of the country hundreds of kilometers from our borders. [video shows Soviet troops being seen off by smiling, waving crowds] A Soviet motorized rifle division was stationed here for more than 8 years.

Throughout those years, the situation in the town and throughout Konduz Province was much more stable and much calmer than in many other districts of Afghanistan. These narrow streets and noisy oriental bazaars were very familiar to our soldiers who served here over different years and who, even now that they are at home, probably often recall that time. They recall this military town, which was built and tended by soldiers and later handed over to the Afghans. They recall the innkeepers they knew, and of course, the little lads who learned the Russian language very well. Naturally, the emissaries of the opposition even at that time penetrated the town. They intimidated people, stirred up things, and created a fifth column here, which according to the plans of the leaders in Peshawar, was to become operational after the departure of Soviet troops.

The town was alive. It was trading and developing. Electricity came here from the Soviet Union through a specially built electric line. There were combines and tractors working, and there was fertilizer. No one could imagine that it would be Konduz, of all places, that would experience an armed attempt by opposition forces to sieze power. However, that was indeed what happened here. This is what the town looked like a week or so ago. [video shows smoldering rubble, devastated buildings, people throwing buckets of water and sifting through rubble, twisted vehicles]

For 8 years this town did not know war. Then war arrived on the streets, and you can see what became of this place. Stinky acrid smoke hangs over the whole town. They were only here for 3 days, but this is what they achieved. This perhaps speaks more vividly than any words. [video shows destruction]

We have seen a lot during our years of working in Afghanistan, but believe me, nothing like this. The mind refuses to believe what the eyes see, all this senseless cruelty and savage barbarity. It was like a scene straight out of the Dark Ages: plundered and burned homes, shops, stalls, and mosques. Hundreds of people killed. A modern man simply cannot imagine what were the aims pursued by the opposition leaders who, together with their foreign advisers, planned this operation. Thirteen armed units numbering up to 1,200 people and belonging to various factions took part in it. Perhaps they decided to show all Afghans through the example of Konduz what awaits them in the future should the Kabul regime fall. Well then, if that is the case, they then accomplished their goal 100 percent, for many people in Afghanistan are now trying to link their own fate with that of these fighters for the freedom of Islam, believing their propaganda and fearing their revenge.

I think that what happened in Konduz will force people—both inside the country and outside it, including those in the Islamic world where many states continue to support the mujahidin—to think. Let people there see these burning mosques, the profaned holy walls. Let them hear this mullah on the threshold of the destroyed house of God criticizing those who declared themselves defenders of the true faith and who wage a holy war under the green banner of the prophet. Mawli Habibullah says that Muslims cannot do such things. These people deserve the most terrible punishment, eternal torment. God has turned his back on them, depriving them of their hearts and minds. [video here shows wrecked mosque, Leshchinskiy interviewing mullah, another mullah calling people to prayer] Mu'ezzin Jan Muhammad calls the faithful to daily prayers. I do not think it is difficult to imagine the feelings they must have in coming here. [video again shows wrecked mosque]

Government troops fought for the town for almost a week. The use of aircraft and heavy artillery was completely ruled out on humanitarian grounds. Small arms were used for the most part. As a result, one-quarter of the invading forces were destroyed, while the remainder managed to break out and hide in the hills. In general, it was not difficult to foresee that the opposition would undertake a sortie of this kind. This is because one of the conditions the United States put forward in response to the request for recognizing the so-called transitional government formed in Peshawar was that complete control be established over one province and this opposition body be moved to its administrative center. Well, the lesson turned out to be a graphic one, and not only for the opponents of the current powers that be, but also for these people themselves. Who can guarantee that this will not be repeated in Jalalabad or Qandahar, Herat or Gardeyz? The situation that has evolved since the withdrawal from Afghanistan of half of the Soviet troops demands particular watchfulness, responsibility, and independent action. [video shows Afghan troops among wreckage, more street scenes, then an interview by Leshchinskiy with Mir Saheb Karwal, member of the PDPA Politburo and secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, who is identified by screen caption. Karwal speaks in vernacular, with Leshchinskiy providing superimposed Russian translation]

[Begin recording] [Karwal] The Afghan and Soviet sides are completely fulfilling all the Geneva accords, in accordance with which Soviet troops have left Konduz. Local opposition representatives assured the people that there would be peace when this took place. These promises blunted the vigilance of the local leadership, which failed to seriously assess the threat that existed. This criminal carelessness led to this result. Apart from that, some local leaders entered into a direct deal with the enemy. It is now perfectly clear that the plan for the operation was worked out in detail by the ruling opposition military clique in Pakistan together with foreign advisers. Although the units that were present in the town put up resistance, the advantage was not on their side.

[Leshchinskiy] Well, nonetheless, is the lesson of Konduz not a lesson for the state authorities? Surely mistakes were made here.

[Karwal] The whole of the provincial leadership, both military and political, has been relieved of office. Many of them will be tried. This is a bitter lesson for all of us. Now we must strictly check on each leader, on his business and moral qualities. We must bring about a radical improvement in security and the safeguarding of security at our administrative centers and major towns. And there is another lesson for all those Afghans who were so sceptical about the presence of Soviet troops on our soil. The events in Konduz have shown what your soldiers were defending our people from. Now we must continue this work ourselves.

[Leshchinskiy] The Konduz tragedy has become yet another common wound for all Afghans. It is proving difficult for hopes of peace to come true here. [end recording]

Afghans Must Show 'Vigiliance'

LD2008224388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] A few days ago the withdrawal from Afghanistan of 50 percent of Soviet units belonging to the limited contingent of Soviet troops was completed. Our correspondent Aleksandr Shkirando reports on the situation in that country:

In recent times there have been no tangible changes in the domestic political life of Afghanistan. As for the general situation, I would say that one of its features is the confrontation between two lines. On one hand, the healthy process of settlement, based on the Geneva accords and domestic political compromise, is developing. On the other, attempts are still being made to aggravate the situation. Since 15 August we have had no troops in 26 of the 32 provinces. The implacable part of the opposition—bent on demonstrating its strength—has recently carried out a number of bandit attacks on the country's towns and villages. The largest and most barbaric attack was mounted on the northern town of Konduz. Just a few days ago, during my field trip to the province of the same name to cover the withdrawal of the Soviet units, the town was unusually quiet and calm. Part of its central area consists of nothing but ruins. The homes of many townsfolk were burned down, the mosque was blown up, and totally innocent people died. These are the sorts of atrocities committed by those who like to trumpet that they are fighters for the faith. In actual fact, they are cutthroats and murderers who hold nothing sacred.

The events in Konduz—this act of barbarism—were, judging by everything, planned in advance. Having waited for the withdrawal of the Soviet units from Konduz Province, the 13 armed groups of the implacable opposition—roughly 1,300 in number—mounted an attack on the town. They seized it on 9 August because there was virtually no resistance from the government troops. For its indecisiveness and ignorance of the situation, the leadership of the province is being held criminally liable. Four days ago Afghan Army forces cleared Konduz of the extremists, who lost more than 300 killed and wounded in the course of the operation.

The Konduz episode has yet again demonstrated the true face of the so-called fighters for the faith. The course of the operation has shown that the bands of extremists are not up to fighting the regular Afghan Army. At the same time, these events have taught the people's power a lesson: One cannot blindly pin all one's hopes on the humane policy of national reconciliation. At this important time, vigilance and constant readiness are required.

Daily Views Troops' Journey From Afghanistan

PM1908143588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Aug 88 Second Edition p 8

[Article by special correspondents V. Okulov and P. Studenikin: "Through Mountains and Desert"]

[Text] Qandahar, Shindand, Kushka, 11 Aug—The temperature in the shade is 56 degrees, so in the sun it must be at least 70. But where is there shade in a desert? The armor plate is as hot as a frying pan but the soldiers are in helmets and bulletproof vests and carry weapons in their hands. The war is not over for them. And the acrid white dust raised by the caterpillar tracks and the wheels of hundreds of vehicles is like a blizzard merging the land with the sky.

It is hard to find the words to even roughly convey the full measure of the hardships which our lads have had to endure during their 3-day march from Shindand after the Soviet units withdrew from Qandahar. There have been incidents—some men had to be treated for heatstroke. We were not spared this fate, either. But neither the scorching sun, the infernal dust, nor the danger of being hit by an exploding rocket or blown up by a mine could dim the lads' happiness: Ahead of them lay their native land.

I shall never forget our driver Andrey Baraslavskiy's joyous dance on the armor-plated vehicle: At the first halt in the desert, Andrey, blackened with the heat and the dust, cavorted about singing: "Soon, soon, I shall be back in my dear Tyumen." The others, clapping in time, chorused: "Soon, soon I shall be in Brest... in Voronezh...in Moscow..."

Political officer Major Ye. Baranov said:

"Andrey is from Nizhnevartovsk in Tyumen Oblast. He lives alone with his mother, Valentina Aleksandrovna. He should have gone home in May—he had finished his military service. But he volunteered to stay because he realized that it isn't just experienced drivers who are needed on this march but also those whose experience has been gained in Afghanistan. Four other volunteers remained as well..."

We can add that Andrey Baraslavskiy is not only a good driver, he is also an excellent soldier who has not missed a single combat mission, has been awarded the For Combat Services medal and has been recommended for the Order of the Red Star.

"Many of the lads," Andrey said, "will recall bitterly the 'Black Square,' the 'Qandahar gates,' and other places. Our blood has been spilled on that road, too... Alesha Shashkov, the Kursk Nightingale, was wounded in the arm but saved his vehicle under fire. Then there is Igor Anosov from Moscow—the ammunition in his truck was burning and was about to explode but he raced his truck to the water tank and put out the fire. Sergeant Igor Litvinenko, Zhenya Khanayev, Andryusha Dyukov, Yakimov, Guran—they all shed blood there..."

The turret of Baraslavskiy's combat vehicle bears the inscription: "Junior Sergeant Vladimir Metelitsa."

"Volodya was born in Belorussia," Andrey explained. "A sniper shot him in the head..."

Slowly, and with a number of stops, the rumbling iron makes its way across the dead land above which dust storms meet and disperse in a fantastic dance. There is no air and the blood dries instantly on cracked lips. A gulp of warm water revives you for a time. Through the pall of dust you can vaguely discern the jagged mountains from which artillerybatteries that are providing covering fire are firing at targets invisible to us.

The covering fire was needed because certain bandit formations, operating on orders from abroad, have become more active. Someone clearly wanted to wreck the schedule for fulfillingthe Geneva accords and pin all the blame on us and our Afghan friends.

On the 2d day we traveled about 60 km altogether from Qandahar. Two subunits still managed to reach the planned overnight stop—Delaram village. There was a rally with flowers in Qandahar several days before the withdrawal of the combat subunits when the personnel of various rear services were evacuated by aircraft.

There will be a rally with flowers in Shindand when, after a 2-day break, the convoy sets off for Kushka.

We spent the night at the district village of Kashk-e Nokhowd. We met Muhammad Nader, chief of staff of the local tribal battalion, 2 days ago in Qandahar. The 23-year-old captain is black-haired and desperately thin. His bloodshot eyes and abrupt movements showed that he had not rested properly in a long time. Nader took us somewhere beyond the barbed-wire fence, where we saw the hastily stacked ammunition—the source of his present worries:

"We need a lot of ammunition to defend the village..."

The Soviets' departure saddens Nader, of course—after all, he is bidding farewell to friends. But he isn't despondent and his courage remains firm: We shall not surrender Qandahar to the "intransigents!" What about the discord and factional struggle? Yes, unfortunately, that continues unabated. It happens that the stance of a given supporter of the government is determined by personal loyalty. But then Corps Commander Nurol Haq Ulumi, for example, is a large landowner.

"But I support his appointment as governor general of Qandahar Province," Nader said. "He has prestige in the province. My principle is this: I do not serve individuals but rather the Afghan land... All my family defends state power. My father is a senior lieutenant in the sarandoy. I myself have been part of the revolution since the age of 15. I was trapped in a burning tank and have lost two ribs. It isn't that easy to break us..."

Nader's family is indeed remarkable. He studied in Tashkent, and his wife Irina hails from Belorussia and teaches Russian to the children of soldiers and peasants in the village school. "When she speaks Pashto you can't tell her apart from an Afghan," Nader boasts. He showed us a photograph of his cute daughters, Natasha and Lena.

"Don't you fear for their future?..."

He did not have time to answer. A rocket flare lit up 1 km from us, and another erupted a little closer. It was time for Nader to check the guard posts.

Reveille was sounded before daybreak. Campfires began flickering near the combat vehicles. For the soldiers, the armored car is a place to work, to sleep, to eat, and to relax. By and large, just like home. And the morning procedure in this home is the same as in an ordinary one. The soldiers washed, shaved, and made breakfast while the battalion commanders—those workhorses of the Afghan situation—had long been busy with the march ahead.

Our traveling companions—Lieutenant Colonel V. Dunayev and Lt Col A. Ivanov—seemed unusually alike in this. They undoubtedly were linked by a certain spiritual and physical toughness which the war here indeed demands of an honorable officer. We saw the battalion commanders leap from the decelerating armored personnel carrier [APC] and pass along the convoy issuing orders, rectifying violations of procedure, and resolving the many problems of the complex mechanism of the march. They did this after many hours of sitting in a rattling armored car under the incandescent sun and after shouting themselves hoarse talking and issuing orders over the radio. We were amazed at how their strength is increased by a sense of responsibility for the lives and fates of their subordinates. And it is those people who give the fairest assessment of their commanders, however accurate the character references in the battalion commanders' files may be:

"A very decent fellow. He never shouts at anyone."

"Never risks lives for nothing."

"Looks after the men and is no coward himself—he does a lot of fighting."

"When I'm with the battalion commander, I tackle any assignment confidently."

"He is self-reliant and experienced. He is less than 40 years old but he is quite gray..."

We heard one thing about Dunayev, another about Ivanov. But we can rightly apply these comments to them both, because in Afghanistan they have received everything that befits a "gentleman" here—decorations, illnesses, and wounds.

...The most difficult part for us was the crossing from Delaram to Shindand. The heat and the dust were just the same. But the men surrounding the armored vehicle were sluggish from fatigue and the excessive heat, and the vehicles broke down increasingly often, adding to Lt Col A. Maslennikov's "technical" worries. The drivers, too, made mistakes. Our drivers—Shura Simonikhin and Andrey Baraslavksiy—received not only terse orders from the armored car but also a generous measure of comradely concern: a flask of precious water poured onto their close-cropped heads, a lit cigarette, and a fresh face mask as they drove along.

On a march like this, the medics are important people. As they suffer from the hardships of the journey just as much as everyone else, of course, our guardians—Captain Igor Melinkevich and Senior Lieutenant Nikolay Baranovskiy—kept a close eye on the soldiers' well-being. The fact that there were no losses on this march is also due to their combat work.

During the hours of what for the majority of the convoy were the most difficult sections of the more than 500-km trip, when there wasn't a single Soviet soldier left in southern Afghanistan—in Qandahar, Lashkar Gah, or in Gereshk—we asked Major General N. Pishchev to comment on the events while they were still fresh in his mind.

"What happened during those days?" Nikolay Pavlovich repeated, then answered: "Nothing unexpected. Qandahar was always difficult for escorting convoys. You could be blown up by mines or attacked by grenade launchers... This time, too, the bandit formations were ready to show their strength: The night before the withdrawal, they mined the most important sections and deployed grenade batteries and rocket launchers. From the start of the journey the enemy tried to attack the roadblock outposts and supporting subunits. We then mounted a retaliatory strike against targets we had already reconnoitered. Subsequently, in various sections of the route, small rebel groups attempted to reach the highway, but they were cut off by well-organized artillery fire. The men of the guardposts and subunits securely blocked off the road, and the troop withdrawal, which took place under very difficult conditions, was completed with minimal losses.

...The sand rose above the Shindand plain like a wall: By evening the wind always gets up there. The APC left the highway for the pull-off area where it joined the queue of those who had passed before us. Lt Col Ivanov was already moving along the convoy issuing orders. The crew jumped down from the vehicle as if they were in a slow-motion movie. They sat with their backs against the wheels and poured their remaining water from their canteens onto their heads...

In the local signals building there is a room with a door bearing the inscription "Maj Shekudov, I.G." (the battalion's party organizer, we were told in Tashkent when leaving). In that room, on the table, there is a photograph attached to a grenade. This grenade, in place of a detonator, instead has a New Year's twig placed in it as though it were a vase. A fair-haired young child with tender eyes looked out at us from the glossy picture. Forgive us, Major, for turning the photograph over. On the other side in a women's fair hand were written the simple but well-considered words—a whole program of eternal life: "To Pop, from your son. Come home soon. We love you very much and are waiting for you. Hugs and kisses. Mommy Galya and son Oleg."

Here we end our report about how our men traveled from Qandahar to Shindand. No, they are not fanatics with no thought for the way in which high ideals and political mistakes, good intentions and harsh realities have become entwined in their personal destinies. They are not men who blindly and stubbornly do their military service on Afghan soil and are now heading toward our border in their scorching armored vehicles. If we are looking for a characteristic feature of them, we would say that these are people performing the lofty duty of a soldier. They are seeing it through to the end, and their consciences are clear. Come home, dear ones, we love you very much and are waiting for you!—that is what our whole people say to them.

A few last words. About the happy conclusion to the march from Qandahar to the Soviet border, which we witnessed at Kushka. We saw everything there—the tears, the sea of flowers, the smiles, the joy, and the happiness, and we heard the words of welcome... In short, everything which the motherland can bestow upon its sons returning from war.

There is one thing we want to recall now: The joy of the first meeting will pass, of course, but we—either as the people or individually—must not and have no right to forget what those boys experienced. Never!

Weekly Cites UK Paper on Afghan Withdrawal

PM1908135488 ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 34, 20-26 Aug 1988 (Signed to Press 18 Aug) p 1

[Report attributed to Britain's THE INDEPENDENT, under the general heading "Moscow Keeps Its Word"]

[Text] "The withdrawal of Soviet forces began on 15 May. The first subunit to be withdrawn was the 66th Motorized Infantry Brigade, which was based in Jalalabad, near the Khyber Pass on the road to Pakistan. After this the troop withdrawal followed a pattern that accords with sound military logic: The subunits furthest from supply points were withdrawn first, while those that guarded the two main exit routes remained in place. Subunits were withdrawn from Ghazni and Paktia, on the Pakistani border, in May and June. In July a subunit was withdrawn from Badakhshan Province in the northeast of the country.

"The withdrawal of the 17th Motorized Infantry Brigade and support units from Qandahar makes it possible to carry out a reduction of forces in the west of the country, most of which were safeguarding the security of the road to that city in the southern part of the country. By 15 August the first reductions had taken place at the major air and ground forces base in Shindand, in the west, and by that date the first subunits will also leave Kabul. [sentence as published]

"The most important role of the remaining units will belong to the troops in the Kabul region, who number about 25,000 men. A few thousand more men will be needed to ensure the security of communications with those troops. The airborne assault force subunit at Kabul airport is not among the units due to be withdrawm next week. Officers have not announced a precise date for its withdrawal, but it will probably be one of the last to be pulled out. The remaining troops will reduce operations in rural localities to a minimum. Since May, there have been no major combat operations. This has been done with a view to reducing losses and facilitating the return of refugees. "The defense of the major cities will to an increasing extent become the province of the Afghan Armed Forces. Major General L. Serebrov stated that they will cope effectively with this task. The general added that in his opinion, there will be no major changes in Kabul after the departure of the Soviet forces.

"After the withdrawal of the troops, a Soviet colony will remain in Kabul. It will be comprised of military advisers, diplomats, journalists, and economics experts. The Soviet Army is striving to demonstrate its adherence to the letter of the agreements. This is acknowledged even by diplomats in those countries that have shown the greatest generosity in aiding the mujahidin. The agreement states that the Soviet troops, who number some 50,000 men, remaining in the country are to leave by 15 February 1989."

Prosecutor General Discusses POW Policy

LD2008041888 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Excerpts] [First unidentified announcer] We now turn to a matter of great concern to the Soviet people—the fate of the Soviet soldiers who have fallen prisoner in Afghanistan. When the Soviet withdrawal began on 15 May, in line with the Geneva accords, 312 soldiers were missing and most of them were prisoners of war. According to information reaching the Soviet prosecutor general's office, some were also in the United States and Canada and other countries. In view of this, Prosecutor General Aleksandr Sukharev has appealed to the governments of these countries and to international public organizations. In an interview with the Moscow-based weeklies NEW TIMES and MOSCOW NEWS, he explained first how the soldiers might have fallen prisoner. [passage omitted]

Asked how the Soviet soldiers behaved as prisoners of war, the prosecutor general said:

[Second unidentified announcer] We must understand that these 18- and 19-year-olds found themselves in unimaginable conditions as prisoners of war far from home. Most of them have conducted themselves with dignity. Some, however, have succumbed to enemy propaganda and the suffering that goes with captivity. Intimidation and brainwashing have prompted some to commit acts of detriment to the Soviet Union. This probably explains why some are now in the United States, Canada, Switzerland, and Federal Germany and are afraid to return home.

[First announcer] Reports from those countries claim that some of our soldiers don't want to return home.

[Second announcer] Well, I believe that such reports should be questioned. We know that groups eager for confrontation with the Soviet Union and some sections of the foreign news media are trying to discredit the boys who fell prisoners of war by representing them as voluntary immigrants. Some may, indeed, have made unpatriotic and even anti-Soviet statements, but we must remember the setting in which such statements are made. As a lawyer, it's my duty to consider nothing but cold facts. Only when I have the facts to prove it will I believe the claim that some are voluntary immigrants. So far, I don't have these facts. [passage omitted]

[First announcer] Boys who have returned from POW camps say they were told that if they returned home they would most certainly suffer repression. They were reminded of the order Stalin issued soon after Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union, when the Soviet Army was retreating, that prisoners of war should be considered deserters.

[Second announcer] Yes, our past weighs heavy on our shoulders and, though much has changed since then, some groups abroad use this fact to frighten Soviet boys who have fallen prisoner. But entirely different principles now govern our society. These are respect for the law, trust in the individual, and compassion. [passage omitted]

Commentator on U.S. Role in Afghan Accords

LD2008035988 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] The United States Department of State has expressed satisfaction with the pullout of half of the Soviet troop contingent from Afghanistan and called for the withdrawal of all the remaining soldiers before the deadline set by the Geneva accords. Vladislav Kozyakov comments.

Regrettably, the State Department kept quiet about what the United States is going to do to go its part of the way to implement the Geneva accords on Afghanistan. Meanwhile, the accords signed last April by Afghanistan, Pakistan, the Soviet Union, and the United States contain not only a schedule by which Soviet troops shall be withdrawn from Afghanistan, but also pledges by all sides to prevent any interference in that country's internal affairs. Let me also remind you that two countries—the Soviet Union and the United States—agreed to act as safeguards of the accords, including the pledge to refrain from interference in Afghanistan.

I believe it's not accidental that the State Department's statement contains no mention of that integral part of the Geneva accords. In this matter, the state of affairs is far from being normal. In effect, Moscow and Kabul have been the only ones who have observed the accords, because Washington and Islamabad have ignored the main part of the agreement, the one that concerns American and Pakistani policies. There are 50 military bases and 180 camps in Pakistan training and arming Afghan extremists, who are later sent into Afghanistan to fight against the government. Such armed groups are trained and armed on American money approved by Congress. The extremists receive various types of weapons, including sophisticated Stinger rockets.

It's common knowledge that the Geneva accords prohibit forming such armed groups in order to send them to Afghanistan from other countries, like any other interference in the affairs of that country. Washington has turned a blind eye on this promise.

Although the other side has been violating the accords, Moscow and Kabul have repeatedly said that the Soviet troops will be withdrawn from Afghanistan by the 15th of next February, as was agreed in Geneva. If the State Department wanted the pullout to be completed earlier than that, it should have used its entire influence on Islamabad to end interference in Afghanistan. There are solid reasons to expect this of the United States as one of the safeguards of the Geneva accords.

Najibullah, Sharq Thank Leaders for Greetings

PM1908151088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Aug 88 Second Edition p 1

[Message from Afghan President Najibullah and Prime Minister Sharq to Soviet leaders thanking them for their congratulations on the Afghan national day; date and place not given]

[Text] To M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee

To A.A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

To N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

On our own behalf and on behalf of the people and government of the Republic of Afghanistan, we express deep gratitude to the Soviet leadership and all Soviet people for their cordial congratulations on our national holiday—the day of the restoration of Afghanistan's independence.

The Afghan people are greeting their national holiday in the conditions of implementingthe historic Geneva accords, which are called upon to unravel the tight knot of contradictions in one of the hottest points of regional tension.

A political settlement of the situation concerning Afghanistan is becoming possible thanks to the deepening and widening of the national reconciliation process, the help and support of the Soviet Union, and the tireless efforts of patriotic forces to ensure the reliable defense of our motherland's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The day of the restoration of our country's independence is indissolubly linked to the commencement of diplomatic and economic relations between the two countries and of truly international friendship between the Soviet and Afghan peoples.

We are cordially grateful to the Soviet Union for its firm and consistent line in the cause of stopping the bloodshed and ensuring peace on Afghan soil, and for its all-around assistance in the development of Afghanistan's national economy.

True to the traditions of fraternal friendship and good-neighborliness, which accord with their national interests, the Afghan people are proud to have created the necessary conditions for the courageous, internationalist servicemen to return home.

Expressing the solidarity of the people and government of Afghanistan with our Soviet friends, we wish you new successes in restructuring, happiness, and prosperity.

Najibullah

President of the Republic of Afghanistan

General secretary of the PDPA Central Committee

M.H. Sharq

Prime minister of the Republic of Afghanistan

Iran-Iraq Cease-Fire Takes Effect 20 Aug

LD2008042788 Moscow TASS in English 0405 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] Nicosia August 20 TASS—The agreement on a ceasefire in the war between Iran and Iraq went into effect at 7:00 Moscow time (3:00 GMT) today. Starting that moment all hostilities between the two countries on land, sea and air were totally halted. Calm situation is preserved all along the warfront line, reports reaching here say. U.N. military observers representing 24 countries are posted directly in the zone of contact between the sides.

The ceasefire agreement announced by U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar is a component of the process to implement U.N. Security Council Resolution 598. It also provides for the withdrawal of the Iranian and Iraqi troops to the internationally recognized borders and the beginning of the talks on a political settlement of the armed conflict between the two neighbouring states. It was announced that direct Iran-Iraqi talks will begin in Geneva on August 25. Both sides declared their readiness to take part in them.

The mutual renunciation of the hostilities on the Iran-Iraqi warfront is an important step towards finally discontinuing the war in the Persian Gulf that had lasted for almost eight years. The bloody conflict between Iran and Iraq claimed more than a million lives, wrought vast economic damage upon both warring sides, and sharply scaled up tension in the entire region. Five hundred and forty six ships came under attack during the so-called tanker war in the Persian Gulf.

Government Releases 'Statement'

PM2108170588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Aug 88 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed "Statement by the Soviet Government" on the Iran-Iraq cease-fire; date and place not given]

[Text] The cease-fire on the Iran-Iraq front entered into force on 20 August 1988. An event has come about which opens the way to an ending of the long, bloody war. This has long been awaited by the peoples of Iran and Iraq and by everyone who is sincerely seeking an elimination of the seats of tension and the establishment of peace and stability in the Middle East region.

Following the Geneva agreement on Afghanistan, the unblocking, which has now begun to appear, of such a lengthy, devastating, and dangerous conflict as the Iran-Iraq conflict signifies a change in the international political climate.

The Soviet Government notes with satisfaction the important role of the United Nations Organization, of its Security Council, and of the UN secretary general personally, in the fact that Iran and Iraq have ceased hostilities and are embarking on negotiations aimed at a political settlement of disputed issues. Resolution 598, which was drawn up by collective efforts and was unanimously adopted on 20 July 1987 by the Security Council, laid a just and balanced foundation—one that has been approved by both sides—for a settlement of the conflict. This is a cogent example of the effectiveness of the United Nations Organization and of the peacemaking potential of the Security Council. The unity of the Security Council and especially of its permament members which has taken shape over Resolution 598 must, the Soviet Union is convinced, be preserved and consolidated.

From the first days of the Iran-Iraq war, the Soviet Union consistently strove for its cessation, supported all efforts at mediation, and itself did a great deal to put an end to the bloodshed.

In the Soviet Union, people are aware that so far only the first steps have been taken. A long road still lies ahead. The problems which gave rise to the conflict are complex, and many of them go far back into history. All this, however, merely emphasizes the need not to allow a relapse into war and not to let slip the real opportunity to direct developments in the direction of strengthening the first shoots of peace.

Peace in the region is needed by everyone. Its salutary influence is felt not only by Iran and Iraq but also by the surrounding countries. The restoration of tranquillity will not be slow in having a positive impact in the Persian Gulf zone and throughout the world in international economic relations.

The Soviet Government expresses the conviction in this connection that the international community, which rightly displayed anxiety over the Iran-Iraq conflict, will attentively follow the development of the peace process. For its part, the Soviet Union is prepared, if need be, to display the maximum good will and render support to the process of negotiations and to the mission of the UN secretary general.

The attainment of a just and lasting peace between Iran and Iraq organically fits into the framework of the efforts to create an all-embracing system of international peace and security. In the long term, in the opinion of the Soviet Union, an accord on reducing the density of arms in the region could become a considerable step in this direction. In the future, evidently, the possibility of carrying out more far-reaching steps could be studied, in particular, those on averting the appearance of nuclear weapons in the region, the elimination of means of mass destruction, and the building of mutual trust.

The question of ensuring the safety and freedom of navigation should also not remain on the sidelines. A gamble on one-sided strong-arm methods has already repeatedly brought close the threat of an expansion of the conflict. In the light of the new situation, the pretexts for justifying the presence in the Persian Gulf of navies of nonlittoral states has disappeared completely. The Soviet Union is prepared to immediately withdraw its ships if the other states not part of this region do likewise.

As for ensuring the security of sea communications in that region, the Soviet proposals on that score are well known. In our view, an appropriate international accord could provide for a system of guarantees on the part of the permament members of the UN Security Council or another similar mechanism. The Soviet Union naturally will examine attentively the opinions of the Persian Gulf states which, of course, more than any other have an interest in transforming the Persian Gulf into a zone of security, good-neighborliness, and cooperation.

The peoples of Iran and Iraq can be confident of the Soviet Union's sincere disposition toward them, and of our country's readiness to develop comprehensive, fruitful, and mutually advantageous cooperation with them on an equitable footing.

Vorontsov, Iraqi Envoy Discuss Gulf Truce

LD1908165288 Moscow TASS in English 1639 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 19 TASS—Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, received Iraq's Ambassador to the Soviet Union Sa'd 'Abd al-Majid al-Faysal at the latter's request.

The conversation which passed in a friendly atmosphere was dominated by issues related to the forthcoming ceasefire in the Iran-Iraq war and the beginning of face-to-face talks between Iran and Iraq under the aegis of the U.N. secretary general.

Soviet Muslims Now Permitted Mourning Ceremonies

LD2108084288 Tehran IRNA in English 0831 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Text] Rasht, Gilan Prov., Aug. 21, IRNA—The Soviet Union has permitted its Muslim citizens residing near the border regions with Iran to hold mourning ceremonies on the occasion of the month of Muharram, the martyrdom of anniversary of Imam Hoseyn (A.S.) [peace be upon him].

Since the victory of the Islamic revolution in Iran on Feb. 1979, this is the first time such a permission has been granted to Muslims in the Soviet Union.

The sound of mourning ceremonies held by Muslims across the border in northern Azerbaijan especially in the Soviet city of Astara (pop. 100,000) can be heard from the Iranian side very well.

The mourning ceremonies are identical to those held in Iran and it should be noted that Muslims across the border in the Soviet Union share a common history, culture, language and religion with their brethren in Iran.

Economic Agreement Signed With Jordan

LD2008203388 Moscow TASS in English 1953 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] Amman August 20 TASS—An agreement on the setting up of a Soviet-Jordanian intergovernmental commission on economic, scientific and technical cooperation was signed here today. On behalf of the Soviet side it was signed by Vladimir Mordvinov, deputy minister of foreign economic relations, and on behalf of the Jordanian side—by Hamdi al-Tabba', minister of industry and trade.

A conversation was held in the course of which the sides exchanged views on the state and prospects of the development of trade and economic relations between the Soviet Union and Jordan.

25th Anniversary of Jordanian Ties Marked

LD2008180088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Interview by correspondent Igor Andrianov with Aleksey Voronin, deputy chairman of the board of the USSR-Jordan Friendship Society, and Fathi 'Abd al-Karim al-Tawil, Jordanian ambassador to the USSR; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] It has been 25 years since diplomatic relations were established between the USSR and Jordan. Our correspondent Igor Andrianov paid a visit to a festive soiree devoted to this event. Here is his report:

[Andrianov] Gathered in the hall are members of the Soviet-Jordanian Friendship Society, representatives of culture, science, and art, and diplomats from the Jordanian Embassy in the USSR, [words indistinct].

They gave a warm welcome to the speakers, Aleksey Leonidovich Voronin, deputy chairman of the board of the USSR-Jordan Friendship Society, and Fathi 'Abd al-Karim al-Tawil, Jordan's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the USSR, (?who) remarked that relations between our countries are stable and are constantly being strengthened both among the leadership of our countries and among ordinary citizens.

Political, cultural, and technological relations are developing quickly. Hundreds of students from Jordan are being trained in our country (?preparing) to be engineers, doctors, and specialists in many other spheres.

[Words indistinct] I posed questions to Comrade Voronin and Mr al-Tawil. Aleksey Leonidovich, tell me what exactly the Soviet-Jordanian Friendship Society does to acquaint Soviet people with the country. [words indistinct]

[Begin recording] [Voronin] Our Soviet-Jordanian Friendship Society has been in existence for almost 10 years. In October, we will mark the 10th anniversary of our society. To acquaint people with Jordan [word indistinct] friendship, the society organizes evenings devoted to Jordan's independence day and to significant dates in the history of Soviet-Jordanian relations. In particular, in the near future, the 25th anniversary of our two countries' establishing diplomatic relations will be marked; exhibitions have been organized; film weeks have been set up; and steps have been taken, to a significant degree on the society's initiative, for the arrival here of a dance ensemble from Jordan. Much is also done by way of exchanging various press publications. In our scientific institutions, in our libraries, the journal of the Jordan-USSR Friendship Society, which is in fact called FRIENDSHIP, is widely represented. There are also many unused opportunities. Our society will be working on this. In the near future, in November, a report will be issued and there will be an election conference.

[Andrianov] Mr Ambassador, how does the Arab world appraise the role of the Soviet Union on settling conflicts in the Middle East?

[Al-Tawil in Arabic with superimposed Russian translation] Your country has always done and is doing everything necessary to resolve the Middle East problem. In the view of your leadership, any conflict must be resolved on the basis of the interests of all parties. I am convinced that Jordan and the Arab world give a high appraisal to the Soviet Union's role in settling the Middle East situation. [end recording]

Brutents, PDRY's Al-Bid Hold Talks

LD2008205988 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1400 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] 'Ali Salim al-Bid, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party, has met in Aden with Karen Brutents, deputy chairman of the International Affairs Department of the CPSU Central Committee. Al-Bid spoke to the Soviet guest about basic trends in current party activities. He pointed to the consolidation of the PDRY's situation at the international level, citing the establishment of good relations with neighboring countries. He also pointed in particular to the party's leadership policy aimed at developing fraternal cooperation on a permanent basis with the YAR and normalizing the situation in the region. Al-Bid also confirmed the firmness of the line aimed at consolidating in all ways possible close friendly relations with the USSR. He stressed the great importance of economic cooperation with the USSR and called for continuing to develop this economic cooperation.

Indian Naval Chief of Staff Arrives on Visit

PM1908085788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Aug 88 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Official Visit"]

[Text] Admiral J.G. Nadkarni, chairman of the Indian Joint Chiefs of Staff and chief of staff of the Indian Navy, arrived on an official visit to the Soviet Union on 16 August at the invitation of S.F. Akhromeyev, marshal of the Soviet Union, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, and USSR first deputy defense minister.

The guest and accompanying officials were met at Sheremetyevo airport by S.F. Akhromeyev, marshal of the Soviet Union; Fleet Admiral V.N. Chernavin, commander in chief of the Navy and USSR deputy defense minister; and other officials.

P.K. Budhwar, minister plenipotentiary at the Indian Embassy in the USSR, was among the welcoming party.

The state flags of India and the Soviet Union were hoisted at the airport and an honor guard formed on the runway.

Adm J.G. Nadkarni called on Fleet Adm V.N. Chernavin the same day.

That afternoon, the Indian guest visited the Kubinka air unit, where he familiarized himself with the combat equipment and daily routine of Soviet pilots. Adm J.G. Nadkarni was met and shown around by Colonel General of Aviation P.I. Belonozhko, first deputy chief of the Air Force Main Staff.

Visits Military Bases

PM1908110988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Aug 88 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Visit Continuing"]

[Text] On 17 August Admiral J.G. Nadkarni, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee and chief of staff of the Indian Navy, who is on an official visit to the Soviet Union, visited the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and laid a wreath. A wreath was also laid at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin wall.

On the same day the guest from India familiarized himself with the teaching and material base and the organization of the training process at the K.Ye. Voroshilov Military Academy of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff.

On 18 August, S.F. Akhromeyev, marshal of the Soviet Union, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, and USSR first deputy defense minister, met with Adm J.G. Nadkarni. Questions of mutual interest were discussed during the talks.

The guest from India visited Zvezdnyy Gorodok, where he familiarized himself with the Yu.A. Gagarin Cosmonaut Training Center and visited the cosmonautics museum.

In the afternoon Adm J.G. Nadkarni visited a unit in Moscow Military District.

Supreme Soviet Delegation Arrives in India

LD1708150388 Moscow TASS in English 1340 GMT 17 Aug 88

[Text] Calcutta August 17 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Cherepakhin.

Residents of Calcutta (West Bengal state) greeted a Soviet delegation with the following words in Russian, Bengali and English: "Welcome, long live unbreakable Soviet-Indian friendship." The delegation led by Aleksandr Mokanu, vice president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, arrived here to participate in events held within the Soviet-Indian friendship month which is going on in India. It is devoted to the 41st anniversary of India's independence and the 17th anniversary of signing the treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

The treaty was an important milestone in the development of traditionaly friendly relations between the two countries, Amiya Gupta, chairman of the influential public organization Forum for Peace and Solidarity, told a mass meeting at the Soviet Cultural Centre. It became a rock-firm foundation of Soviet-Indian relations and imparted a powerful impetus to their development. Today there is not evidently a single sphere where the two countries would not cooperate.

The treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation between the USSR and India is a graphic example of fruitful relations between states with different social and political systems, pointed out Professor Hiren Mukerjee, prominent public figure. The views of the two states on many international issues concur or are very close. This found its expression in the historic Delhi declaration on the principles of a nuclear-weapons-free and non-violent world, where the USSR and India declared their commitment to ensuring universal peace and security in the world.

The delegation of the Soviet public was received by Jyoti Basu, chief minister of the West Bengal government, and by Syed Nural Hassan, governor of the state. During the meeting they highly appraised the level of Soviet-Indian relations and pointed to the great importance of their further strengthening and development.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Adamshin Discusses African Accord

LD2008184888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] [Announcer Igor Charikov] Now we will talk about another conflict in another part of the globe. We will talking about Namibia. The fifth round of quadripartite talks on Namibia will be taking place 24-26 August in Brazzaville, Congo's capital. Delegations from Cuba, Angola, and the RSA are taking part in these talks, as well as from the United States in its capacity as mediator. How real are the prospects for settling the conflict in that region? An interview which Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Leonidovich Adamshin gave to our correspondent Andrey Stesnev, began with an answer to this question. We will now listen to a recording of that conversation:

[Begin recording] [Adamshin] The quadripartite talks have achieved more progress than was expected by many people. The conflict in southern Africa is one of the most deeply rooted conflicts, and it was thought that a solution could be achieved only with great difficulty. However, it seems that the general atmosphere in the world has changed to a great extent. Our interaction with the United States in favor of settling conflicts is working in the same direction. The chain reaction of improving the situation with regard to regional conflicts which can be observed after Afghanistan is also a fact facilitating a settlement.

At present a series of major questions at these talks has been, at least in principle, resolved. One November is the date when Resolution 435 on granting independence to Namibia should begin to be implemented. The military disengagement of the sides is taking place. A mutually acceptable timetable should be presented for the total withdrawal of Cuban internationalists from Angola. Thus, a whole range of questions has been resolved positively. But there are still complications at these talks which, with goodwill from all sides—and Cuba and Angola certainly have the goodwill—these complications can be overcome.

[Stesnev] I would like, in my next question, to touch on the RSA's position. On the one hand, we know that the RSA signed the joint agreement but at the same time, being aware of the essence of the policy conducted by the RSA with regard to Angola and Namibia, how realistic is it that the RSA will observe these accords?

[Adamishin] So far, only the general principles of the settlement have been signed. No specific agreements have been signed. But your question is quite natural, not only in our country but also in many other states. Unfortunately, the precedents given by the RSA are not favorable; they have frequently gone back on their word. There are fears that they could go back on their word this time too. As the saying goes: We shall see. It is difficult at this moment to guess. I have already said once that I consider the chances to be approximately 50-50. But I think that in present conditions it will not be so easy for the RSA to go back on its word. A whole range of things—of which I spoke at the beginning—are working in favor of a settlement, and even the RSA is unable to avoid taking this into account.

[Stesnev] In your view, is the existence of the Angolan group UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] going to hinder the implementation of the quadripartite agreements, especially when you take into account that the RSA and the United States are continuing to give military support to this group?

[Adamshin] Well, one of the questions which remains acute at the talks is the question of ensuring Angola's security and noninterference in its internal affairs. As far as the RSA is concerned, as a partner to the agreement, it must not simply undertake a firm commitment not to interfere in Angola's affairs and end its aid to the antigovernment group UNITA; instead, it must strictly fulfill this commitment. The Americans are not party to the agreement and they have already, in a quite unceremonious manner, stated that they will continue just as before to support the group which is waging an armed struggle against the legal government. Such behavior by the United States and the very fact of such internal problems in Angola are, of course, complicating factors.

The USSR adheres to the view that if favorable external conditions are created then the Angolans themselves will find ways of solving their internal problems by peaceful means.

[Stesnev] It has often been stated that the USSR is prepared to act as a guarantor of a quadripartite agreement. How could this be expressed in practice, do you think?

[Adamshin] The USSR supports settling this regional conflict—just as with all other regional conflicts—by the prestige of its support. So, our influence is primarily the influence of the new course, of the new thinking in international affairs which is being conducted by the Soviet leadership. But, of course, not just this. In this specific case we are having, I think, a positive influence on the settlement by means of being in constant contact with our friends, Angola and Cuba. We maintain a systematic exchange of opinions with the United States. As you probably know, our special observer was present at the venues of all the previous rounds, and this will also happen in Brazzaville. His role is assessd positively by all sides. Finally, as you correctly say, the USSR is prepared, if it is requested by the participants in the agreement to do so, to act with the other permanent members of the Security Council as guarantor of the implementation of a future agreement. The form that this guarantee will take will become clearer when the essence of these agreements is seen. [end recording]

Tarazevich-Led Delegation Ends Visit To Congo

LD1908224588 Moscow in English to Africa 1700 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] A Soviet party and government delegation, led by the deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Georgiy Tarazevich, has ended a visit to the Congo. The delegation attended celebrations marking the 25th anniversary of the Congolese Revolution. In the course of the visit the Soviet delegation leader was received by the chairman of the Central Committee of the Congolese Party of Labour, President Denis Sassou-Nguesso. The delegation met with the chairman of the National People's Assembly, Jean Ganga-Zanzou, and other party and government officials.

Mugabe Cables Gorbachev on Overflight

LD2108213188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Aug 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] While overflying the territory of the Soviet Union, Robert Gabriel Mugabe, president of the Republic of Zimbabwe, has sent Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, a telegram from on board his plane expressing good wishes to the entire Soviet people.

Commentary on Efforts to Combat Ethiopian Drought

EA1908202388 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Commentary by TASS Reporter Gennadiy Gabrielyan]

[Text] The government army continues fighting with secessionists in Eritrea, Welo, and Tigray regions. Even though there is a complex military and political situation in those areas, the government has not stopped its aid for drought victims even for one moment. Here is a report by TASS Reporter Gennadiy Gabrielyan who recently visited northern Ethiopia:

[Gabrielyan] There is a food distribution center at Korem in northern Welo. Thousands of people have fixed their eyes on bags containing flour and are waiting for their turn. Everybody has his own small bag. They have come here after walking distances of 60 km and sometimes even 120 km. In the evening each of them will get a 15kg bag containing emergency grain aid and go back home; and tomorrow others will come to receive aid.

The recurrent drought in northern Ethiopia has become a real scourge to the people. The reason is not only lack of rain. The other reasons are bad economic management and the old system of farming, which causes erosion and is unproductive. Cutting down trees for firewood has caused great damage to agriculture.

However, the current drought was not unexpected. The Ethiopian Government and FAO [word indistinct] carried out studies and predicted the drought. However, predicting drought and establishing food distribution centers are not the only ways to help. For example, the country's first multipurpose campaign has been carried out in Welo region since 1986, and its objectives are to help Ethiopian peasants become somewhat independent of climatic conditions.

Among the objectives of these programs is the protection of fertile soil, streams, and grazing lands. In addition, these activities give practical help to farmers. They have been given seeds and fertilizer. Soil and livestock experts are advising them. Young people in the rural areas are learning modern agricultural methods at 18 special training centers. The Ethiopian Red Cross Society, in cooperation with the ministries of agriculture and health, is implementing a 5-year action plan.

However, the experience gained is not spread widely. It only affects 400,000 citizens in Welo region. Nevertheless, the whole country is following this development with interest.

Various governments and humanitarian and religious organizations have given aid to Ethiopia to overcome the drought, the Soviet Union among them. For example, the Soviet Union has given 250,000 tonnes grain to Ethiopia. Soviet planes and helicopters are transporting food to difficult areas in Eritrea and Tigray. Soviet hydrogeology experts are undertaking the search for drinking water. The Soviet Red Cross has sent medicine and childrens' food to Ethiopia.

All available forces have been mobilized to save lives. All those who are in danger must be rescued.

Joint Report Issued on Mali Delegation Visit

LD2108145788 Moscow TASS in English 1411 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 21 TASS—Parliamentarians of the Soviet Union and the Republic of Mali have expressed profound satisfaction over the fact that progress is a characteristic feature of Soviet-Mali relations in various spheres. They reaffirmed their desire to further consolidate friendly relations between the two countries.

This is pointed out in a joint report circulated here today on the stay in the USSR of a delegation of the National Assembly of the Republic of Mali led by Sidiki Diarra, president of the National Assembly, member of the Central Executive Bureau of the Democratic Union of the Mali people. The delegation visited the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet on August 12 through 18, 1988.

Deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the National Assembly of the Republic of Mali reiterated the identity of the stands of both countries on the key problems of today. They went on record in favour of turning Africa into a zone free from nuclear weapons and strongly denounced the actions of some industrially developed Western countries which would like to turn Africa into a dumping ground for nuclear and toxic waste.

Deputies of parliaments of the two countries supported the efforts aimed at creating a comprehensive system of international peace and security. They voiced serious concern over the remaining hotbeds of tension in various parts of the world and emphasized the need for settling conflict situations by political means without outside interference and with due account for the lawful rights of all the parties concerned.

Briefs

Seychelles Party Visit

Under the protocol on party cooperation between the CPSU and the People's Progressive Front of the Seychelles, a delegation of that party, headed by (Silvette Frichot), secretary of its Central Committee, was in the Soviet Union from 10 to 20 August. The guests had conversations in the organisational party work, propaganda and international departments of the CPSU Central Committee and visited the Social Sciences Institute at the CPSU Central Committee, the House of Political Education of the Moscow Committee, the Moscow City Committee, and the USSR Ministry of Culture. During a trip to Latvia, they visited the central committee of its party, the Riga City Executive Committee, and industrial and agricultural enterprises. [Text] [*LD2108044688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 20 Aug 88*]

East Europe

Prague: 20th Anniversary of Soviet 'Entry'

Charter 77 Members Arrested

AU2008150788 Paris AFP in English 1458 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] Prague, Aug 20 (AFP)—Three members of opposition group Charter 77 were arrested here Saturday as they tried to deliver a letter to the Soviet Embassy protesting against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia exactly 20 years ago, the group said.

Stanislav Devaty, Bohumir Janat and Milos Hajek were arrested by police soon after leaving an underground (subway) station near the embassy, witnesses said.

The three, who warned earlier they might be arrested, had not returned three hours after starting out, and their families expected them to be held for the full 48 hours allowed under Czechoslovak law.

Security around the Soviet Embassy was tight Saturday, the 20th anniversary of the invasion by 600,000 troops from the Soviet Union, East Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria and Poland.

The invasion ended a brief period of reforms known as the "Prague Spring", undertaken by the Czechoslovak Communist Party leadership.

Western Involvement in 1968

LD1908183888 Moscow TASS in English 1744 GMT 19 Aug 99

[Text] Moscow August 19 TASS—By TASS news analyst Aleksandr Kondrashev

For a whole week now the Western newspapers and news agencies have been obstrusively mentioning the entry of troops of five allied socialist countries in the Czechoslovak territory on August 21, 1986 [date as received]. Their comments abound in terrifying terms such as "invasion", "occupation", "suppression"... This is nothing unusual for the Western media. Over the past two decades Western propaganda invariably marked that date by making stereotype accusations against the Soviet Union and the Czechoslovak leadership, disregarding the concrete situation in Czechoslovakia and the assessments given by life itself. There would be no need to note the current "jubilee" propaganda campaign in the West, if it were not for the uncalled-for attempts to test Soviet perestroyka for "democratism", the attempts that in the long run have the aim to question not only the policy of the USSR and of Czechoslovakia but also the entire process of positive changes in the world. In their reportages and interviews, Western journalists and former figures of the "Prague Spring" demand from the Soviet leadership no more no less than the reassessment "in the spirit of democracy and glasnost" of the internationalist assistance to Czechoslovakia in 1968. It is also expected that the Czechoslovak leadership give free rein to opposition groups. And while about it they draw the conclusion that if the USSR does not reassess its 1968 actions, then it remains a potential menace to Europe. In the same way, they conclude that if the Czechoslovak leadership refuses to legalize the opposition, the program of social and economic transformations now implemented in Czechoslovakia is, mildly speaking, "undemocratic".

And those who draw such conclusions do not feel obliged to prove that the "Prague Spring" was really an example of democratic process rather than a coordinated action of the anti-socialist forces within the country and of Western centres of subversion. It was clear to all sane people that Johnson, Kissinger and other Western leaders of that time were not at all concerned about the improvement and liberalization of Czechoslovak socialism. The West really intended to tear Czechoslovakia away from the socialist community and alter the correlation of forces in Europe in its own favour.

We now reappraise many things in history. The tragedies and errors of the period of the personality cult and the period of stagnation, the things that hindered the onward movement and distorted the Leninist pattern of socialism, are duly assessed. But we do not belittle the importance of profound changes in the USSR and in the international arena that were brought about by the new social system, that were achieved by heroic work and struggle of peoples for freedom and the construction of new life. The Soviet people treasured and will continue to treasure the victorious February of 1948 in Czechoslovakia when the people of that country opted for socialism, for alliance and friendship with the USSR. And when in 1968 the anti-socialist forces, taking advantage of political irresponsibility and opportunism of a part of the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia of that time, made an attempt to counter February 1948, to tear Czechoslovakia away from the socialist community, the friends and allies of socialist Czechoslovakia could not remain indifferent.

In the appraisal of the events of the past decades we drew the conclusion that we at times attached more importance to military aspects of opposing imperialism, while losing political opportunities. But precisely political means were used to the utmost in 1968. Suffice it to recall international conferences in Dresden, Warsaw, Bratislava, to say nothing of bilateral Soviet-Czechoslovak talks. Deplorably, by the end of August 1968 the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries were faced with an envigoration of the hostile forces in Czechoslovakia, and the Czechoslovak society was threatened with a possibility that accounts will be settled with upright communists in a brutal way. All this prompted the leadership of five Warsaw Treaty countries to adopt the decision to render internationalist assistance to the Czechoslovak people.

The Czechoslovak people is now coping with new tasks of the restructuring of the economy and social relations to widen democracy, to expand the entire potential of socialism, the tasks posed by life. It is not only Czechoslovakia's friends and allies but all European countries that are interested in Czechoslovakia being flourishing and stable. The socialist choice of the Czechoslovak people has been proven by history, by its acts and intentions, has been recognized by all sober-minded people in the world. Therefore the futile attempts to prevent the Czechoslovak people from forging ahead on this road look an anachronism.

Current Western 'Provocation'

LD2108182688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 21 Aug 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast: S. Andreyev report from Prague]

[Excerpts] On weekend days, there are not many inhabitants of Prague remaining in the city. They go off to their garden allotments, dachas, and country houses, but the streets of Prague, especially its historic center, are not deserted. From early morning a 1,000-strong army of tourists pour into the old town, Mala Strana, and Qradcany. The guests, speaking a variety of tongues, fill the squares, museums, and street cafes. Unfortunately, however, there also are those who do not come for the sake of the architectural sights and the beautiful canvases.

On Thursday, a provocation was mounted here in Wenceslas Square by Italian tourists and citizens from other countries of Western Europe. Now it's Sunday, 1300 Central European time, and several dozen people are clustering suspiciously at the monument to Saint Wenceslas, but for the moment everything is within the rules and bounds of decorum.

Another incident from the last few days: Leaflets are removed from the upholstery of the car of one of the Western tourists. Propaganda radio waves roll over the country from the West with increasing strength as the days go by. Various voices are trying to reanimate the events of 20 years ago, providing them, of course, with their own portrayal. They are trying to teach the Czechoslovaks how they should live, foisting on them their own point of view as to what policies, system, friends they need, but the country is living its normal life. [passage omitted]

Joys and concerns, festivals and difficulties, the life of a people chose its path long ago, a people that is building its own plans and finding its own methods of implementing them without the aid of those who find no rest in the country's calm and business-like life. [Video shows tourists in the streets, demonstrators with banners, leaflets being removed from a car, journalists filming demonstrators, shots of the various sports and cultural events, people walking in the streets]

NOVOSTI's Chernov Recalls Events

LD1908222388 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] We talked about the events of 20 years ago with Yevgeniy Chernov, chief editor of the socialist countries' desk of the Soviet NOVOSTI press agency during his recent visit to Bratislava. Comrade Chernov said:

[Begin Chernov recording in Russian with superimposed Slovak translation] The year of 1968, or rather the years of 1968 and 1969, were for me the years of difficult personal trials and complicated processes of thoughts. For instance, I arrived in Bratislava on 22 August 1968, and the first person I met was an elderly Bratislava citizen who asked me: Why have you done it? I asked him to give me his address, and told him I would contact him again in a month or two. This happened—albeit 6 months later. Today we are good friends, and I have to say that with the lapse of time he changed his view.

A great deal is now being written and said in the West about the 1968 events in Czechoslovakia. It is for them a very popular topic, but their assessment seems to me to be unbalanced. For instance, the argument that had Mikhail Gorbachev been at the head of the CPSU leadership 20 years ago, Soviet troops would not have entered Czechoslovakia. But surely we cannot look at things in such a way. Events, including yours during the crisis period, must be considered comprehensively, in historical dialectics. After all, had for instance Comrade Husak or Jakes been elected into the post of CPCZ Central Committee general secretary at the plenary session of your party in January 1968, and not Dubcek, the events of 1968 would also not have happened. But these are mere empty philosophical arguments.

I had the opportunity of getting to know Slovakia and Bratislava beforehand. I had worked here at our consulate during the period of 1962-63. Many of my colleagues had told me at that time that one can work in your country, in Prague or Bratislava, without even knowing the Slovak or Czech language, such was the sincere and friendly attitude of your people toward us. However, I learned Slovak. I wanted to get to know the soul of your nation, its problems, difficulties, and joys.

When the January plenary session took place I believed that the path mapped out by the party was a correct one: Economic reforms, democracy. After all, what is wrong with it? People were looking forward and woke up. Forgotten enthusiasm reappeared. And I did not see anything wrong in it—up to the middle of 1968. Free democratic examination of problems, diversity of views, creative criticism, literally arguments—all this rather shocked me as a Soviet man, a man of that time, as well as frightened me. But as an ordinary man I enthused.

However, everything changed in June, and those in the West who talk about the 1968 events deliberately conceal this fact. Democracy and openness took a different course. The party clearly was losing control over what was taking place in society. But even at that time things could have been prevented. Regretably, this did not happen. Overt antisocialist and anti-Soviet attacks began appearing in the newspapers. In July, suggestions that Czechoslovakia leave the CEMA and the Warsaw Pact were made. There was talk about neutrality, and in my view the party was already incapable of doing anything. I have in mind the party's leadership. All this, this entire process, was being supposedly justified by democracy.

For me, the worst experience—an event to which no one reacted at that time—was when, on 14 August, a Soviet woman citizen was stripped naked in Kosice, tarred, and then driven through the town. This was no longer anti-Sovietism. This was an open step by counterrevolution. This cannot be concealed, and one cannot be silent about it. The first step, although a small one, but nonetheless a fact and reality. This incident was for me, as someone who was here at that time, a clear sign that one could no longer talk about socialism with a human face of any kind.

Let us now look at other aspects of that period. The city of Plzen: A U.S. military delegation came to the city. It was given a great welcome on 27 July. During that time reports appeared about attacks on Soviet Army memorials. At the present time there are a number of people who say that these were negligible matters of no importance. I believe that this was not the case. It unfortunately had a big influence, especially on young people.

Nonetheless, leading officials wrote in the press that nothing was happening and that they had the situation in hand. I know comrades, for instance, in Martin, as well as here in Bratislava, those who were earmarked by the antisocialist forces for physical liquidation. I can confirm this because I was made aware of it. This is why the sentence about the danger to communists of physical liquidation in your country—which is contained in the document "Lessons From the Crisis-Ridden Period"—corresponds fully to the reality of those days. Such was the reality, and the leadership was no longer capable of doing anything about this rising wave of counterrevolutionary violence.

Imagine me, a Soviet man, who loves your country, Slovakia, in such a position and situation. Up to 21 August 1968, everything Soviet was condemned, along with socialism. The point at which anti-Sovietism begins is also the point at which the first step against socialism is made.

I was a direct witness to the development of the subsequent events following the arrival of the troops. I saw that many failed to understand it. Afterwards, after a month or two lapsed, the situation began to change. During September, for instance, hardly anyone still wanted to talk to me. Contacts between us however began to be reestablished, albeit with difficulty. Gradually, everything that forms the basis of our friendship and cooperation began to be renewed. I was a witness to it. I was, so to speak, naturally, in my view, a bond, a link between the Soviet and Slovak nations. Twenty years have elapsed and I have once again come to Bratislava, and friends I met during those difficult years recollect all this. It was worthwhile living and being here, just for all this alone. Such is my view. [end recording]

Moscow on 'Illegal' Polish Dock Strike

LD2108172988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Presented by Vyacheslav Lavrentyev]

[Text] According to reports from Warsaw, the strikes which began at a number of coal mines last week are still continuing. According to a decision of the administration at the port of Szczecin, where an illegal strike by some of the dockers is still on, work has ceased at the port. Foreign ships due to be unloaded at Szczecin are being directed to other ports. Our correspondent Asiliy Lesovik reports:

[Lesovik] The development of events shows that, as in spring during the strikes at the metallurgical combine in Krakow and the shipyards at Gdansk, it is extremists from the former Solidarity—who do not conceal their political objectives—who are directing the actions of the groups of strikers. Moreover, these political objectives were brought out into the open at the very outset of the strikes. And it was only later that economic demands were presented. And, what's more, they were set out in such a way that in the country's present economic situation they are totally unrealistic. For example, among other claims, groups of strikers at the pits are demanding a double increase in their monthly salary, and the Szczecin dockers one of 50 percent. This, when both the miners and the dockers of Poland are the highest paid group of Polish society.

Incidentally, as one of the members of the former Solidarity among the striking miners stated publicly, economic demands are a secondary issue: The main thing at the moment is to halt the extraction of coal.

For Poland coal is one of the main items of a stable export. Therefore the aims of the extremists are clear—to undermine the country's economy, to cause breakdowns in services to industry and individual consumers.

All these actions, which are destabilizing the economic situation, are aimed first and foremost against the policy of the reforms which are taking place in the country. It should be emphasized that the current strikes by some teams of members and dockers are, by Polish law, illegal since they have been undertaken in crude violation of the law. First and foremost they have not been supported or sanctioned by the trade union. Moreover, Polish law envisages that one may only resort to strikes in a situation where talks between the conflicting sides have failed. The current strikes began an evasion of this procedure of solving disputes. This is mentioned in the latest statement by the country's Council of Ministers. The National Confederation of Trade Unions, the coordinating body of the Polish trade union movement, has also expressed its own position. It asked the marshal of the Sejm to convene in the near future an extraordinary sitting of the Polish parliament to appraise the economic and political situation in the country and methods of managing the economy.

Polish Government on Strikes

LD2008152688 Moscow TASS in English 0825 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw August 20 TASS—At its regular session Friday the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic analyzed the development of the socio-economic situation in conjunction with the illegal strike actions at several pits in Katowice voivodship, at Szczecin port and in public transport.

The illegal nature of the present strikes, which totally ignore the normal procedure for the settlement of disputes, is in glaring contradiction with the principles of legality and the equality of all citizens before the law with all the consequences ensuing from this, a report on the government meeting says. They are objectively aimed against the policy of reforms, dialogue and national concord.

The Council of Ministers expressed the feeling of respect to all the working people who selflessly discharge their duties. Simultaneously, it called upon the labor collectives to become aware of the fact that illegal strikes not only fail to solve any of the problems, but, conversely, will aggravate them. The government stated that the necessary economic and administrative measures would be taken in accordance with the law and the supreme interests of Poland.

Polish Electronics Cooperation Document Signed

LD2008222088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] A document outlining a prospective program for cooperation in developing production capacities of the Polish and Soviet electronic industries, which have become a new important step in strengthening the two countries economic links, has been signed in Warsaw. Implementation of the program will make it possible to increase mutual deliveries of electronic items. In the current five year plan they will total R400 million.

Bessmertnykh, Petrovskiy on Foreign Policy

LD2008083988 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1940 GMT 19 Aug 88

["Panorama" program, introduced by unidentified presenter, moderated by reporters Alajos Chrudinak and Ferenc Szniszlo, with Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, USSR deputy foreign minister; and Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister; Bessmertnykh and Petrovskiy speak in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Text] [Presenter] Here in Panorama we have spoken several times about the internal Soviet debates connected with restructuring. On this occasion our topic will be the restructuring of foreign policy. Questions and answers about East-West relations, or East-East relations, that is relations between socialist countries, about the so-called Brezhnev doctrine. You will shortly be hearing the opinions of two Soviet deputy foreign ministers. And we shall also be seeing how diplomatic relations were conducted and are being conducted in Moscow nowadays; whether the principle of class, or global human interests, are on the ascendancy in Soviet foreign policy. Two leaders of Soviet diplomacy speak to Panorama. The reporters are Alajos Chrudinak and Ferenc Sznislo:

[Chrudinak] In the Soviet Union you are considered a reformer. In your opinion, what does the new way of thinking signify in Soviet foreign policy?

[Bessmertnykh] Let me say first of all that your analysis that I am a reformist takes me a little by surprise, though on the whole I agree with this for I profess that the time is ripe for reforms, that there is a need for reforms, and reforms have to be carried out in foreign policy as well. To answer your question very briefly, I could say that the new way of thinking in foreign policy is in fact a return to sober thinking and realism; in other words to a policy which, if need be, is capable of ridding itself of illusions, and which does not confuse aspirations with reality, because that also occured in our former policy.

To put it a bit more professionally, the new way of thinking signifies first and foremost the more precise understanding of interests, of the relation of interests of states and of the human community. Perhaps this is the first occasion when we decisively state that there exist interests that stand above national—what is more even above class—interests. There are some interests which go beyond those viewpoints that have always been very close to our hearts.

[Chrudinak] Forgive me for interrupting, but the other day I listened to Yegor Ligachev's speech. Ligachev said that the most important element of international relations is their class characteristic. He said this a few days ago.

[Bessmertnykh] Yes, he stated that foreign policy, international policy, has a class characteristic. There is no doubt about this, for Lenin said that in every policy a distinction must be made between the approach of the foreign affairs commissariat and the Komintern. In other words, in foreign policy there exists an ideological and a state line. The coordination of these two tendencies is important. In our policy we sometimes mixed up these two concepts, when the Komintern or the ideological line came to the forefront, instead of the state interests; there were such cases. For this reason we must creatively seek the harmony of the two kinds of approach. We must always strive for this. I would like to stress again the importance of the precise harmonization of interests, of the priority of interests.

[Chrudinak] Do class viewpoints have priority or...

[Bessmertnykh—interrupting] The all-people's interests, the general interests of mankind, are of particular importance now, in the nuclear age; of such particular importance that, compared to the other interests, they are essentially in the front rank.

[Chrudinak] So you will not be conducting a class struggle with the United States?

[Bessmertnykh] We are not waging a class struggle with the United States. We can only wage a class struggle with a well-defined class which opposes our class. This struggle takes place on a basically political and ideological field. This is a struggle that is waged not with machine guns, missiles, armored columns, or heavy bombers. This kind of debating political struggle has accompanied the entire history of mankind. It has always existed and it exists now as well. I would like to stress that one must not confuse the two viewpoints: We must see precisely where the border lies between class interests and interstate interests, especially now, in the nuclear age. What has, in fact, brought this new way of thinking into being? We have recognized that mankind has reached a point where, if it continues to live according to ancient philosophical or political dogmas, it could be swept into a danger from which there is no way out. In other words, the real threat of catastrophe obliges us to keep general human values in view. For if the possibility of human existence ceases, then what kind of class or national interests can one talk about?

[Chrudinak] All right. But in a given situation, who in the Soviet Union decides whether, for example, the class interests or the general human interests are now the most important?

[Bessmertnykh] Look, your question, or your hypothesis, or how should I call it, seems like something out of some kind of [word indistinct] discussion: Who decides what is class interest, state interest?

[Chrudinak] According to Ligachev, a foreign policy of a class nature must be worked out taking the various interests into consideration. I think that is what he said.

[Bessmertnykh] In my view, in order to develop a good policy, the making of political decisions is now no longer the prerogative of the narrow professional sphere of the Foreign Ministry, the Defense Ministry, or the Central Committee. Policy has to be actively debated in a much wider sphere. Thus, in foreign policy there appear many new coauthors, since the especially important issues must be submitted for a wide-ranging debate. But more important than all this is that we should always keep in mind, and keep alive, the new mode that has now made its appearance in our thinking; in other words that we should not rush into the cul-de-sac of dogmatic outlooks, into the debate about what are priority and secondary interests. You know, this reminds me of the scholastic question about how many angels can dance on the head of a pin. We must be pragmatists, realists, properly understood; and we must rely on sober common sense. For if the people speak to the people, then it is sober common sense that speaks. This must also be reflected in policy.

The dialectical method makes it possible, in difficult or complex situations, at least to rely on something. Of course this does not mean that we will always manage to find the correct solution and that we will always be able to decide well. But we must at least strive for this.

[Chrudinak] You told me that in the past there were a few antidemocratic, incorrect, decisions in Soviet foreign policy. Some of these decisions have already been corrected, are being corrected. Could you give us a few examples of your bad decisions?

[Bessmertnykh] You know, I think that those issues which concern the country's security—especially if the danger also arises that we might lose human lives—well, these issues have to be examined extremely thoroughly, weighed up....

[Chrudinak—interrupting] Are you thinking of Afghanistan?

[Bessmertnykh] In my view, the whole Afghan issue, for instance, should have been considered more thoroughly before the decision which in the end was made, was in fact made. I think that now we weigh up interests much more precisely and correctly. We recognize our interests more correctly and more realistically. All this has helped us now to make the one and only correct decision: that we should promote this process through the withdrawal of our troops.

[Szniszlo] The troop withdrawal from Afghanistan was preceded by the entry into Afghanistan. How did you evaluate this event then and how do you evaluate it now?

[Petrovskiy] In the making of every decision, first and foremost the specific historical situation has to be examined. The specific conditions must be taken into consideration. In 1979 conditions were different, and we looked at the world in a completely different way, one that was radically different from today's. Now we have rid ourselves of many political and ideological hang-ups. We see the world as it is, in its complexity. In other words, we see the world with different eyes. At that time, in 1979, we saw the world differently, in a different way. At the same time, I believe that my colleagues are right when they say that the former process of decision-making was unarguably antidemocratic, ossified. Actually, we treat this as a fact and we brought it to the knowledge of public opinion a long time ago. When we say that in determining priorities military solutions were given priority, or that there was an inclination to resolve problems by military means, well, then we could mention as an obvious classic example of this the decision on the deployment of the SS-20 missiles.

In my view the possibility existed even then for a political solution. Unfortunately, although they stressed the importance of political tools, they did not consider them to be an indispensable element in political practice.

[Chrudinak] In your view, how far has the Soviet Union's system of relations with the other socialist countries been modified? What does the new way of thinking signify in this field? I heard General Secretary Gorbachev's speech at the party conference. He also spoke about the new system of relations. In the view of many, the so-called Brezhnev doctrine is already a thing of the past. What is your opinion about this?

[Bessmertnykh] First of all I believe that no such doctrine existed in our political dictionary and there is no such Brezhnev doctrine in our baggage. But I understand what you mean: A series of past pronouncements were kept on record in the West as a unified, worked-out doctrine.

[Chrudinak] The question of limited sovereignty?

[Bessmertnykh] Yes, I understand the essence of the question very well. I think that in our relations with the socialist countries the most important thing is to understand that without the independence of the individual states, without their right to decide independently about their internal affairs, it is impossible to create a real and reliable community. The problems have to be resolved in every single country by their own parties; they have to work out the decisions, since only they, together with their people, can determine what the given country needs, or what it does not need. No one among us, not even our most talented ambassadors, can know the situation that has evolved in the individual socialist countries better than the leaders of the country concerned, and the people living there.

For this very reason our alliance must develop into a voluntary partnership. And when we prepare some decision, or when we make some decision, then it must really be voluntary, it must really be based on the true identity of interests. If this does not exist, then we must either wait, or we must develop a new decision, or we must convince each other about the necessity of the decision. This is what is happening now. The nature of the dialogue between our countries' leaders has also radically changed. Here I am thinking of the meetings between party general secretaries, foreign ministers, defense ministers; but this is also happening in a wider sphere. I think that my present conversation with you also reflects the new nature of the dialogue, the style of discussion taking place between the socialist countries.

[Chrudinak] According to this, what happened in 1968 in Czechoslovakia could not happen now. Just as in Poland, it really did not take place at all. Therefore, the problems have to be resolved in a different way.

[Bessmertnykh] Yes, I am convinced that it is always the people and the party of the country concerned who have to decide on what reforms they need. I regard it as very important that we should cast away the mode of thought which holds that we have to copy certain programs or platforms from each other. There is no need for the type of political copying machine which copies the model of one country for the others. Of course, if something can be taken over, why should we not do so? In our opinion, we must watch, study the experiences of other countries; what is more, I think that this is not only something that we need, this is absolutely indispensible. This is the other side of the question.

For example, we study the development of the Hungarian and, for instance, the Chinese economy. When we find something that can be utilized we adopt it. But when we carry out reforms, you do not have to blindly imitate us. There is no question of this. If something is good, you should utilize it, and if it is not good, you should not adopt it.

[Chrudinak] We are very interested in what is happening and what can be expected as regards the reduction of European traditional armaments and forces. Matyas Szuros and Geza Kotai have said that there might be a chance that when the assymmetry that has arisen is eliminated, Hungary might become an experimental sphere for the reduction of forces. In your opinion is it conceivable that the withdrawal of forces will begin in Hungary?

[Bessmertnykh] You know, it is extremely important that first of all there should be agreement on the essence of the matter, that is, on the elimination of asymmetries and advantages that have come about on both sides, in a whole range of areas both inside the Warsaw Pact and inside NATO. The essence is that we should carry out these force reductions on the basis of an agreement reached with the other side, on the basis of mutuality, in line with precisely determined plans and schedules.

[Petrovskiy] We are now proposing the radical reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces in three stages and the practical alteration of the structure of the opposing military forces. In other words, we would like to see a strategic stance which is sufficient for defense but not for offensive moves carried out in depth. Well, this truly reflects the change that has taken place in our foreign political thinking. We know from our own domestic experience how difficult it is to achieve a transformation, because there are forces holding back. There are such forces among us as well, even inside our own consciousness. It is quite natural that the same breaking forces have an effect in international politics as well.

By now it is perfectly obvious that this can be said primarily as regards the approach of conservative politicians. At the same time, if we want to remain objective, we must note behind the reaction of NATO as a whole the differing opinions of the various countries. Let us, for example, take the FRG, where not only the Foreign Ministry but also the Defense Ministry has given a positive reaction to the Soviet proposals.

[Szaniszlo] Is this perhaps because they are closer to the fire?

[Petrovskiy] This is possible. This might be one of the reasons. This might be connected with the circumstance that since they are closer to the fire, they perceive reality more accurately. The realistic approach in itself motivates them toward new solutions.

[Szaniszlo] Perhaps the sense of fear helps toward a realistic evaluation.

[Petrovskiy] Yes, it helps toward realistic politics. Perhaps after nightmares we wake up to rational decisions. Perhaps this is the reason. At any rate, it has to be acknowledged that in Bonn the situation is evaluated realistically and that they are reacting to our initiative in a realistic manner.

Naturally, we are concerned by the negative reaction of NATO as a whole, because it thereby postpones the solution to the problem. We found in the past that postponing problems brings about very many serious situations.

[Bessmertnykh] We have proposed a mutual plan to the Americans as well. We proposed that we exchange the date relating to European armaments and forces of the two sides. According to this, the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries would publish their own data, the data relating to our own forces and armaments, and would also publish our data regarding the armaments of the NATO countries, gained through intelligence. At the same time, they would also publish their data, their own data and the data regarding us, which they have gained through intelligence. By examining each other's figures, we could determine who is right and who is wrong. How could we do this? Through on the spot inspection. We could determine on the spot the differences in the data. Is there a more open, sincere and honest proposal than this?

The Americans shied back from this, because they are not yet ready for such measures. Of course, I am not saying that the other side is not willing to discuss this at all. The processes aimed at European armament reduction have gathered strength; the Western leaders are really working on developing their position. The only problem is that they are making very slow progress.

[Chrudinak] If this is not a state secret—though this data has not been published as yet—would you tell me how many U.S., British, and French soldiers, and how many Soviet soldiers are stationed in Europe on the territory of other states?

[Bessmertnykh] I do not think that we should begin the exchange of data immediately. We are ready to do this, however, either before the start of negotiations, or when these negotiations get under way, or in the course of these negotiations. But for the moment, let us keep this data secret. When it is made public, the journalists will also be able to look at these figures and they will be able to say: Look, how interesting. It is possible that you will say that you have known the data for a long time. We shall see.

[Chrudinak] Why do you not release the data unilaterally?

[Bessmertnykh] Look, this could be done as a unilateral measure, just as you suggest. But, you know, it would be better if it were done bilateraly. This would solve a very important problem. The information would reveal where the data differs; we would see immediately in which areas there is symmetry, where one side or the other has an advantage, and in what spheres. Despite this, there will be debates, but the disputed questions can be resolved with the help of on-the-spot inspection. With the help of observers one can find out on the spot how many heavy bombers they have, how many soldiers there are in uniform, how many cooks there are, and so on.

[Chrudinak] If you were to publish the data now, then they would also have to reveal theirs.

[Bessmertnykh] This would be so only according to a very pure logic. Foreign policy, of course, does not necesarily work in accordance with pure logic.

[Chrudinak] Let us return to the first question posed in connection with this topic. Is there a possibility that the troops might be withdrawn from Hungary in the near future?

[Bessmertnykh] In my opinion there is. On the question of troop and armament reductions we support the position that the troops should be stationed in their own country and not abroad. This is our position and we regard this as very correct. However, this is a question that we must all solve together.

[Chrudinak] But how?

[Bessmertnykh] We have to find solutions whereby no country finds itself at a disadvantage. Security is the shared concern of all of us. This is also in the interest of Hungary, the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the other members of the Warsaw Pact.

[Chrudinak] And when can this come about?

[Bessmertnykh] You know, it is very difficult to predict precisely how many months or years are needed for this. I think that if the present tendency—the serious dialogue regarding the reduction of troops and armaments—takes the form of really serious negotiations—and at present we can move only in this direction—then in my opinion this question can also be resolved fairly rapidly.

Briefs

Joint Hungarian Firm In Ukraine

Donetsk August 19 TASS—The Soviet-Hungarian firm Intercomputer has been created in Donetsk, the Ukraine. It engages in the development and introduction in the USSR and abroad of highly efficient computer facilities for the automation of designing, economic management, tuition, environmental protection and the fulfilment of other tasks. The staff of Intercomputer includes specialists from the main computer centre of collective use under the Donetsk Executive Committee of the regional soviet, as well as representatives of the Hungarian firms of Rair and 5G. Soviet engineers ensure program supply for the new systems. Hungarian specialists provide up-to-date computer facilities. They will be instrumental in getting hard-currency orders for the new firm from third countries. The partners created an ownership fund of 2 milion roubles. They believe that orders of foreign industrial enterprises and firms, including those of capitalist countries. Will account for two-thirds of the overall volume of operations of Intercomputer. It will transfer 30 per cent of its profits to the state budget. The rest will be distributed between the members of the joint enterprise in accordance with their contribution to the development of the firm.

Intercomputer plans to create its own section for the assembly of computers. It will assembly there of the separate parts and units flexible and less expensive information processing systems on the orders of Soviet enterprises. [sentence as received][passage omitted] [Excerpts] [LD2108052488 Moscow TASS in English 1120 GMT 19 Aug 88]

West Europe

General Ivanovskiy Ends Visit to Finland

LD1908150788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1405 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Helsinki, 19 Aug (TASS)—The official visit to Finland by Army General Ye.F. Ivanovskiy, commander in chief of the Ground Forces, USSR deputy minister of defense, has come to an end. He was staying here at the invitation of General J. Valtanen, commander in chief of the Defense Forces of Finland.

Today General of the Army Ye.F. Ivanovskiy was received by Ole Norrback, Finland's minister of defense. The Soviet military leader departed for his homeland the same day.

Finnish Body Receives Gorbachev Reply on Ecology

LD1908203188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 19 Aug 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The first joint ecological expedition by public organizations of the USSR and Finland was devoted to the tasks of preserving peace and nature [no date as heard]. The expedition's route passed through southern Finland, and ended at Petrozavodsk. The participants sent a message to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and to Mauno Koivisto, the Finnish president. Yesterday, the Finnish organizations were given the Soviet leader's reply, in which he expresses gratitude for the support for the Soviet Union's policy aimed at preventing nuclear and ecological catastrophe.

Briefs

Joint Austrian Computer Firm

The signing has taken place in Moscow of an agreement on the creation of a joint Soviet-Austrian enterprise Inermikro for the production of computer equipment. The founders of the joint enterprise are the All-Union Research Institute for Problems of Computer Technology and Informatics and the Austrian firm Prosystem. The documents were signed on the Austrian side by (Hoffer) and (Gandl), directors of the firm. The new enterprise will develop, produce and supply computer systems equipped with essential programs and information technology. It is also planned to create a network of study centers to train specialists in computer technology using modern methods. In the future it is proposed to open branches of the joint enterprise in the Soviet Union and abroad. [Excerpt] [*LD2108053588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1130 GMT 19 Aug 88*]

Political & Social

'Provocative' Democratic Union Meeting Prevented
LD2108151188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1423 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow, 21 Aug (TASS)—Today, bodies for the protection of public order prevented an intended provocative gathering of activists from the so-called Democratic Union, which they planned to stage in Moscow's Pushkin Square, from taking place.

As is known, the Democratic Union united a handful of people with a superiority complex who declared themselves "an opposition political party." Their leadership makes statements that "condemn the political system" created in October 1917, deny "the ideology of Leninism," and "aim at altering the social state order in the USSR."

The Democratic Union intended to stage a meeting on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the introduction of troops of the USSR and four other Warsaw Pact states to Czechoslovakia. At that, leaders of the union ignored the prohibition of the municipal authorities which had been handed to them in the form of a written injunction. The Executive Committee of the Moscow Council replied to the request of members of the union to allow the holding of a meeting by saying, among other things: "Taking into account the fact that the initiators of the meeting seek to represent, in a deliberately distorted form, policies of the Soviet state, and the provocative nature of actions of the meeting organizers and the possibility of breaches of public order, and guided by Article 50 of the USSR Constitution and Article 6 of the Decree by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted on 28 July, 1988, "On the Procedure of Organizing and Holding Meetings, Rallies, Street Marches, and Demonstrations in the USSR," the Moscow City Executive Committee forbids your group organization initiative and the holding of the meeting...."

'More Than 150' Arrested
AU2208122288 Paris AFP in English 1208 GMT 22 Aug 88

[All names as received]

[Text] Moscow, Aug 22 (AFP)—Three activists arrested at Sunday's protest to mark the 20th anniversary of the Soviet-led invasion of Prague have been sentenced to two weeks in jail and others given shorter prison terms or fines, a dissident source said here on Monday.

Alexander Podrabinek told a press conference that two-week jail terms were given to his own father, Pinkhoss, along with Valeria Novodvprskaya, an activist from the Democratic Union, which organised the protest, and a third activist, Roman Mantulin.

He added that "more than 150 people" were arrested after the demonstration which took place at Pushkin Square where human rights protests have been traditionally staged. The protest lasted for 15 minutes and was broken up by riot police.

Democratic Union activist Assia Lashchiver told journalists an unspecified number of detainees had received prison sentences of five days or less and about 40 were fined up to 100 rubles (160 dollars).

She added that "30 people were beaten" by police after being arrested.

'200,000 Armenians' Hold 'Authorized Rally'
AU2008134688 Paris AFP in English 1009 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow, Aug 20 (AFP)—Some 200,000 Armenians on Friday evening held an authorised rally near the centre of the Armenian capital Yerevan, to discuss the situation in the disputed Azerbaijani territory of Nagorno-Karabakh, participants told AFP Saturday.

Karine Ararkunyan, contacted in Yerevan by telephone, said that no decisions as to concrete action had been taken at the public meeting except that more rallies would be held. The next one was scheduled for September, she said.

Mrs. Ararkunyan is the wife of Bebken Ararkunyan, a member of the dissolved nationalist Karabakh Committee which spearheaded a five-month campaign of demonstrations and strikes in Armenia in support of Nagorno-Karabakh's transfer to Armenia.

Communist Party authorities had earlier this month rejected an application from the Karabakh Committee for a demonstration, and did not allow Friday's rally to take place at Opera Square, where the Armenians had previously massed.

Mrs. Ararkunyan said that speakers at Friday's meeting had discussed such issues as the setting up of Armenian schools in Nagorno-Karabakh.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the Soviet Union's top state authority, on July 18 ruled out the territorial transfer. But a Kremlin mediator was sent to the region to ensure that a major investment scheme to improve the Armenian majority's conditions in Nagorno-Karabakh was properly carried out.

The disputed region's Communist Party leader, Genrikh Pogosyan, said in an article in the MOSCOW NEWS weekly on August 10 that he was satisfied with the Presidium's decision. He said the campaign by the Armenian majority in Nagorno-Karabakh had achieved "the most important thing" because the doors between Armenia and the Azerbaijani region had "opened wide".

The Karabakh Committee rejected the Presidium's decision as unjust, and had announced that it planned to call for more strikes to back the call for the redrawing of the territorial boundaries.

Stepanakert Rally Calls for Ending Tension

LD2008192888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] A public meeting took place on Saturday in Stepanakert. Over to our correspondent Sergey Omelchenko.

[Omelchenko] The Pobeda Square, where two Stepanakert streets cross, is full of people. It seems the entire population of this small town has gathered here. The rally has been called by the town's 28 enterprises, and has been officially registered and permitted. All the prominent people of the town—writers, poets, artists, workers, enterprise managers, and party officials—are speaking here now. The slogans that (?are being distributed) read: "Press! We are expecting Leninist truth from you" and "The Artsakhs are waiting for the real implementation of restructuring."

The rally was opened by (Zhanna Galasyan), merited artist of Azerbaijan SSR. (Gamlet Grigroyan), assistant professor at Stepanakert Pedagogical Institute, noted that legality should be observed and provocations should be rebuffed. The problem of Nagorno-Karabakh is keeping two republics in a state of tension. Vasily (Atadzhan), director of a shoe factory, says: The country has a lot of urgent concerns. One has to advance restructuring and solve social and economic problems. One wishes that the two peoples would declare friendship as soon as possible.

'Negative Phenomena' in Armenia Deplored

LD1908224788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] And now, over to (Karlen Khumaryan), our correspondent in Yerevan. He will continue on the subject of Communists and restructuring.

[(Khumaryan)] The period of stagnation which lasted here until recently has left us with a very difficult legacy. This was stated with all possible candor in the appeal of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee to Communists and the entire people of the republic, which was recently published. It has brought out a lively response in the minds and hearts of our people, which does not intend to tolerate the flourishing of bribe-taking, corruption, and protectionism here any longer. Letters containing sharp criticism of the situation in the republic and constructive proposals addressed to the Central Committee of the republican Communist Party have been flowing in. Yesterday, I met with (David Aleksandrovich Damuryan), chief of a sector at the Organizational Party Work Department of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. Here is the tape which we recorded there.

[Begin recording] [(Khumaryan)] David Aleksandrovich, in my memory this is the first time that the republican Communist Party Central Committee has appealed to all Communists, to the entire population of the republic, on the eve of its plenum.

[(Damuryan)] Yes indeed, this appeal is brought about by the fact that an extremely complex situation has come about in the republic. When preparing the appeal, we were sure that it would cause a wide flow of letters and great activity by Communists and all working people of the republic toward displaying their civic duty, engaging in a direct dialogue with the Central Comittee, and helping it.

I have selected a few letters for our conversation which are, I believe, most typical. Their authors, Yerevan residents (Piltayan), (Arutyunyan) (Iekiazaryan), and (Iskanvo), say that an intolerable situation has come about in trade, transport, medical, communal, and consumer services. The ecological problem remains acute as well.

I would like to dwell in more detail on one of the letters: This is a letter by (Ilbakyan). He writes the following: The stagnation years have led to a situation where a certain part of people, not to say the majority, have lost faith in social justice. It is most evident in our republic how bribe-taking and protectionism flourish. The people come across these ugly phenomena at every turn. I think, comrades, that it is high time to proceed from words to deeds. It is necessary to stage a wide-scale, efficacious struggle against dishonest people of all kinds.

I would like to express my certainty that the wide flow of letters and proposals will help us in the issue of preparing such a program for removing the shortcomings and negative phenomena that have taken root in the republic and that will enable the Communists and working people of Armenia to correct the difficult situation that has shaped up here. [end recording]

New Inter-Ethnic Commission in Armenian SSR

LD2108174288 Moscow TASS in English 1603 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Excerpt] Yerevan August 21 TASS—Follow news about Soviet Armenia.

Armenia's Supreme Soviet sets up new commission.

A commission on inter-ethnic relations and internationalist education formed at the latest session of the Armenian Supreme Soviet has approved its plan of work till the year's end.

The commission's aim is to expand and strengthen Armenia's internationalist ties with other Soviet republics. (The commission) is to place special emphasis on forming the culture of inter-ethnic comunications and fostering respect for the history, traditions and art of the Soviet peoples.

"One of our tasks will be to assist Armenians living outside Armenia in learning their native language and history through the soviets of people's deputies in various parts of the Soviet Union," composer Edvard Mirzoyan, head of the new parliamentary commission, told TASS. [passage omitted]

Estonian Capital To Display Historical Emblems

LD2108174188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Text] The ancient emblem of Tallinn, three dark blue lions on a yellow background, will again take its place on the town hall building, the historical center of the Estonian capital. This was decided by the Tallinn Ispolkom. This step was taken in accordance with a decision by the city ispolkom on the use of historical emblems and flags of Tallinn, a TASS corespondent was told at the Ispolkom. Many residents have recently expressed the justified desire to give the town back its ancient emblems, and we could not ignore public opinion.

From now on, the large emblem, and also the small emblem, a white cross on a red background, will decorate the streets and premises during festivals, sporting events, and other mass ventures. Apart from this the emblems will be used on the stamps and forms of the city ispolkom in correspondence with twinned cities. The historical flag of Tallinn, three dark blue and three white stripes, will also acompany celebrations on a city scale.

Private individuals wanting to use Talinn's emblems and flag will need to obtain the consent of the city's authorities. After all, these emblems cannot be regarded as official symbols of the city—much less of the republic—on a par with the state emblem and the flag of the Estonian SSR.

French Group Wants Sick Dissidents Released

AU1908155088 Paris AFP in English 1540 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Paris, Aug 19 (AFP)—The Paris-based Les Amis du Journal GLASNOST appealed to Soviet authorities Friday to release jailed Lithuanian dissidents Gintautas Iesmontas and Petras Grazulis, saying both were seriously ill.

Mr. Iesmontas, 58, a poet and specialist in Lithuanian literature and language, is "in critical condition" with tuberculosis in the northern Soviet town of Komi, said the organization, whose name means friends of GLASNOST, referring to the Moscow-published dissident review GLASNOST. He was sentenced to six years in prison camp and five years relegation to a penal colony in December 1980, for "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation", the group added.

Mr. Grazulis, 29, received a 10-month jail term in February for having refused to perform various duties during his military service in protest against the Soviet Union's annexation of Lithuania under a secret German-Soviet pact.

He is now in solitary confinement for having staged a hunger strike to protest against ill-treatment inflicted on him at Pravieniskes prison camp, the group said.

Les Amis du Journal Glasnost is chaired by French writer Marek Halter, who is of Polish origin.

Ukraine KGB Official Discusses Restructuring

AU1908131188 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 9 Aug 88 pp 1-2

[Interview with Major General M.M. Golushko, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR State Security Committee, by the editorial board of RADYANSKA UKRAINA: "Guarding the Homeland's Security"—passages in boldface as published]

[Excerpts] **In their letters on restructuring, on the deepening democratization of our society and glasnost, the readers of our paper welcome the fresh wind of change, the thorough renewal of our life, and at the same time ask: But why does RADYANSKA UKRAINA and other publications not write anything at all, or write very little, about the activity of state security organs during this period? Is it still an "area affording concealment"?**

In view of this interest on the part of our readers, the editorial board asked M.M. Golushko, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR State Security Committee, to answer a number of questions.

Mykola Mykhaylovych, the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum determined, on the basis of the 19th all-union party conference decisions, the strategy and tactics of deepening restructuring in all spheres of our society's life. How are the republic's state security organs restructuring?

[Golushko] As a participant at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, I would like to emphasize that the conference greatly impressed all delegates, and became a truly fateful event in the country's life, an event unprecedented for the Bolshevik passion in discussing the question of how to make the processes of revolutionary changes irreversible.

Late in July the CPSU Central Committee plenum gave an additional impulse to the implementation of the conference decisions, maximally specified the tasks set, and made a sharp turn toward practical things.

The Chekists of the Soviet Ukraine, along with all working people of the republic, fully approve these party decisions and regard them as political reference points for improvements in their work. The CPSU Central Committee, as stated in M.S. Gorbachev's report, approved the measures taken by the KGB leadership "to perfect its activity under the condition of our society's present development, and of the unfolding democratic processes." We draw conclusions from these party directives in order to strive, under the conditions of the new political and moral atmosphere that has emerged in our country, for a strict political verification of every decision adopted.

The line taken by the party in shaping a new face of socialism, in revealing its humanist essence, and in expanding the political rights and personal freedoms of citizens implicated the adoption, after the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress, of new, normative, legal directives for the duties of state security organs. They strictly conform with the valid legislation and reflect the changes taking place in the state and society.

Certainly, all problems involving improvements in KGB activity still have not been settled. As is known, the press criticized the shortcomings of the Voroshilovgrad and Odessa Oblast KGB administrations, and the most serious conclusions have been drawn from this criticism. In light of the party conference directives, which are new in principle, we have been confronted with the task to more vigorously join in the processes of renewal, and to perform the main functions of state security organs: to defend the fundamental achievements of socialism, to guarantee the security of the state and society in a reliable way, and by all our acts to help the party and the state deepen restructuring.

We regard as an inviolable requirement for us the 19th party conference's reminder that the imperialist threat to peace must not be forgotten, and the conference conclusion that as long as the irreversibility of the initiated processes is not guaranteed, the enemies of socialism will stubbornly try to hinder the revolutionary renewal of Soviet society, to undermine the fraternal unity and cohesion of the Soviet people, and to cast a shadow on the processes of democratization and glasnost.

As is known, the conference condemned any activity aimed at undermining the socialist foundations of society, at fomenting national and racial hostility, and at propagating war, violence, and immorality. It was emphasized that, in recent times, we had repeatedly come up against attempts to take advantage of democratic rights and of the new conditions to the detriment of state and people's interests. In other words, democracy was abused, and this radically contradicted the goals of restructuring. In this context, the report at the conference stated in a succint and principled way: "Some people consider it acceptable to settle any problems in this manner—from redrawing borders to founding opposition parties."

The republic's state security organs work under the constant control of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and local party organs, and they rely on the working people's assistance and support.

The board, the leadership of the Ukrainian SSR State Security Committee, is persistently endeavoring to induce each of our fellow workers to continuously corroborate his or her loyalty to restructuring with conscientious work, with the blameless discharge of duty, with the strictest observance of the law, and with high morality. We are improving the professional mastery and creative activity of functionaries. We are looking for ways to accomplish operative tasks in the struggle against the intelligence and subversive activity of the adversary's special services, ways that suit the new circumstances.

Time and again, the press reports on the hostile activity of special services, on functionaries of Western diplomatic representations declared "personae non gratae" for acts incompatible with their status, and on their accomplices detected among Soviet citizens. To what extent does the subversive activity of the foreign special services make itself felt in the Ukraine?

[Golushko] Indeed, Western special services have not stopped their attempts to conduct intelligence and subversive activity against the USSR. The weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 14 for 1988 published data about the U.S. CIA operatives who, acting as American diplomats, "worked" in our country, and about individual Soviet citizens who provided them with espionage information. I think that these facts, already known and elucidated in the press, do not deserve to be discussed in detail.

Neither has our republic with its great defense, economic, and scientific potential been left without the vigilant attention of the foreign special services. State secrets, classified information about the most important national economic facilities, the most recent achievements of fundamental scientific research, and the deployment and arms of military units are at the center of the attention of these special services. [passage omitted]

It should also be pointed out that in the streams of foreign tourists, which are constantly growing, the republic was also visited by persons who, instead of looking for cultural monuments, were very assiduoulsly trying to fill "orders" placed by various subversive agencies. [passage omitted]

All this is proof that we must not relax our vigilance. Any state, including ours, has its secrets, and their disclosure is very harmful to the country's defense and economic interests. We will nip in the bud any encroachment of this kind in accordance with the law.

Very frequently the question is asked: Do Western intelligence organs enroll agents among Soviet citizens who have access to classified information? Unfortunately, there have been such cases of treason against the homeland. Similar, although individual, cases have also occurred in our republic. [passage omitted]

It is to be added that traitors whose criminal acts were detected by state security organs in recent years had many things in common: deformed ideological and moral opinions, moral malady, spiritual devastation, excessive selfishness, and greed for profit were evident in all of them. Here is another sad observation: Such people managed to gather classified information as a result of disregard for the regulations established to protect secrecy, as a result of carelessness and of a negligent attitude to problems concerning classified information on the part of persons possessing such information and of officials.

As is known, the changes which are taking place in international relations are based on the desire for honest, constructive, and mutually beneficial cooperation in the economic, scientific, cultural, and other fields. However, it is to be stated that our enemies in the West—all kinds of anti-Soviet, nationalist, and other groups—are regarding the growing openness of our society, to the detriment of progress in this sphere, as a favorable ground for the infiltration of the USSR, for sending trained agents and emissaries. [passage omitted]

On the initiative of the party, the work is being carried out to disclose and to condemn the unlawful acts committed in the period of Stalin's personality cult. To what extent did these acts affect our republic? What are the guarantees against their repetition?

[Golushko] In his speech on the 70th anniversary of the Great October, M.S. Gorbachev determined the causes of that tragic period in our history. He indicated that "precisely the nonexistence of an adequate level of democratization in Soviet society made the personality cult, the violation of legality, and the repressions of the thirties possible."

As far as my own opinion is concerned, I do not find any explanations or justifications for that arbitrariness and lawlessness. My years of training at the juridical faculty of the university, the subsequent work in the KGB organs, and my professional formation coincided with the times when the party condemned the personality cult and its effects, and when the Leninist principle of the steadfast observation of socialist legality began to gain a firm hold in the activity of state security organs. The present Chekist generation was educated in the spirit of high compliance with the law, of a respectful and sensitive attitude to the destiny of every person, and of honesty before the party, the people, and oneself.

You ask how those lawless acts affected our republic. As is known, a special commission, which was set up by a decision of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and local procuratorship and judicial organs are examining archival materials and rehabilitating persons who were illegally repressed. For this reason it is still difficult to speak about the victims in their totality. I can only say that, since 1956, more than 100,000 citizens, victimized innocently, have been reinstated in their good names. [passage omitted]

We consider it as our most important party and professional duty before the memory of all Soviet citizens who were lawlessly repressed to do our utmost to contribute our part in creating strong guarantees against even the slightest violations of socialist legality. The legal regulations for various aspects of Chekist activity are now being perfected in light of the CPSU directives. A strict internal control has been established over the compliance with the requirements of legislative and other normative acts. In accordance with the Constitution, our work is also being supervised by procurators.

In this context I would like to emphasize that we are taking steps to maximally foster socialist legality, are resolutely getting rid of formalism in applying the law, and are developing new forms of preventing and eradicating state crimes and politically harmful acts. Much attention has been paid to the elaboration of new ways of settling problems involving the rights, interests, and destinies of Soviet people.

Special commissions, formed by the CPSU Central Committee and working with participating representatives of the USSR KGB, are drafting new legislation, including precepts regulating measures to fight state crimes. The task has been set to bring them into conformity with the requirements of the present stage in the development of Soviet society, and with the restructuring taking place in the country. [passage omitted]

You have given a detailed account of the guarantees against the infringements of socialist legality in the future. Could you not tell us, if possible, whether Soviet citizens in the Ukraine were prosecuted in 1987-88 for particularly dangerous state crimes?

[Golushko] As I said, we avert offenses and delinquencies affecting the interests of state security mainly by preventive means. In this way we contribute our part in the work carried out by the party to enhance political vigilance and to educate the Soviet people. [passage omitted]

It is to be pointed out that, owing to political-educational measures taken under the guidance of party organs and to the democratization and glasnost process which has developed in the country, the number of anti-social offenses committed in the republic under the influence from abroad has declined. There is a firm trend toward its further decline. In the last 2 years, for example, no

Soviet citizens in the Ukraine were brought to criminal account for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. On the contrary, in this period 40 persons, previously sentenced for particularly dangerous state crimes, were individually pardoned and released from the places of confinement. Those people have broken away from the past and renounced hostile activity. I am confident that the humane step made by our government has fully justified itself.

At the same time, in protecting the state against imperialist special services, the KGB organs have applied and will continue to apply, in accordance with Soviet legislation, strict measures to the enemies of socialism who are engaged in anti-state activity consciously and for profit.

In particular, in 1987 we detected the criminal activity of 25 persons, mainly traitors to the homeland from among former active OUN-UPA [Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists-Ukrainian Insurgent Army] collaborators, bandit-terrorists, large-scale dealers in foreign currency, and smugglers. Most trials involving these cases were widely elucidated in the local and republic-level press. [passage omitted]

There is no statute of limitation for crimes perpetrated by Nazi brutes, their henchmen, and traitors to the homeland, by punishers and OUN terrorists. For this reason the Ukraine's Chekists are continuing to search for and detect them, and in this work they are actively assisted and supported by the Soviet people. At the same time procuratorship organs have done a great deal to document the criminal activity of punishers and terrorists who collaborated with the fascists, and who in the postwar period found refuge in some capitalist countries. Materials concerning many of them have been conveyed to justice organs in the United States of America, Canada, Great Britain, and some other countries. [passage omitted]

One of the chief commandments guiding Soviet Chekists in the struggle against the counterrevolution and in protecting the achievements of the October Revolution has been to maintain close links with the workers and the peasants, with the working people. What links with labor collectives do the republic's security organs have at present?

[Golushko] A link with the masses and reliance on the working people have always constituted and will constitute the general line in the practical activity of state security organs. Brought forward by V.I. Lenin on the first days of the functioning of the organs of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counterrevolution and Sabotage, this party principle for the work of Chekist subunits has been consistently implemented by many Chekist generations.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, oblast, city, and rayon party organizations are making great efforts to further strengthen the links of the republic's KGB organs with labor collectives. The Ukraine's working people are actively participating in settling many questions involving the guarantee of the country's security. They greatly assist the Chekists in protecting state secrets, in the struggle against subversive ideology, and in defending our homeland's borders. [passage omitted]

These efforts are particularly important now, when the special services of imperialist states have significantly stepped up their efforts to discredit the KGB organs. Foreign adversaries have long been making persistent attempts to present the history of the KGB organs in the republic and in the country as a whole as an unbroken chain of repressions and unlawful acts in order to discredit these organs in the eyes of people. We know under whose orders those "specialists" work. In this respect, their application has been particularly noticeable in recent times. They are erroneously considering that the time most propitious for them has now come, because their mass media are elucidating in every detail the unlawful actions practiced during the times of the cult. The adversary will probably never comprehend that the process initiated by the party to purify society has met with authentic support on the part of all Soviet people, including the Chekists. The Chekists are interested in this purification to the same extent, because the past repressions and unlawful acts also affected state security organs themselves. [passage omitted]

Today we can say with full confidence: The present KGB organs and the present Chekist generation have nothing to do with the repressive organization that transgressed the law in the times of the cult revelry. The department of that time bore no relation whatsoever to the organs of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission created by F.E. Dzerzhinskiy and to the KGB. It was precisely that department that exterminated almost all F.E. Dzerzhinskiy's companions in arms and adherents; it forgot the Leninist principles of activity valid in the All-Union Extraordinary Commission.

I dwell on this point in order to clarify the Chekist attitude to those dramatic times, and to ensure that there are no doubts whatsoever left in this regard. The present Chekist position is honest, true, and spotless.

While fostering the principle of glasnost, the Chekists are informing the working people about the nature of subversive actions made by the adversary's special services, about the forms and methods of ideological subversion. At the same time we endeavor to make our information maximally accurate and, what matters the most, not giving the slightest grounds for suspicions among the people, including among those who have contacts with foreigners. After all, it is known that most foreigners come to us with good intentions, and are willing to comprehend the essence of the revolutionary changes taking place in our country.

The creative intelligentsia and the mass media are very helpful in this undertaking which is sacred for us. [passage omitted]

The USSR and Ukrainian SSR KGB leadership have taken a number of measures to improve the handling of citizens' letters in the system of state security organs. The republic's working people share many problems with us. They ask, advise, and suggest ways to improve the activity of the KGB organs, and we are very thankful to them for that. While examining such letters, particularly the petitionary ones, we tend to see behind them concrete people with their worries and joys, and to be maximally attentive to their destinies. At the same time I would like to emphasize that, in conformity with the law, we disregard anonymous letters. [passage omitted]

We would like the Soviet people to have a true picture of our contemporary KGB fellow worker, about the requirements with which he is confronted, and we would like them to know who we select for work in the organs and how.

Let me disclose and tell people a "departmental secret": We consider the abuse of the official status as one of the most serious offenses committable by a fellow KGB worker. This is not a new requirement; it is an old Chekist tradition initiated by F.E. Dzerzhinskiy. It is precisely this circumstance, and not any elitism, as some people allege, that helps us keep the Chekist ranks clean.

In summary, let me say that the expanded links with the people and the increased openness of state security organs are for us factors guaranteeing the strength of our ranks and the moral purity of the Chekist cadres vigilantly guarding the homeland's interests.

Minsk Official on Leaders' Privileges, Incomes

LD1808195388 Moscow TASS in English 1533 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Text] Minsk August 18 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Palchevskiy:

All questions with which I approached Vladimir Galko, first secretary of the Minsk City Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia (a republic at the Soviet western border), were being actively discussed in the Soviet press in the recent past. Do party leaders enjoy privileges? What are their incomes and living conditions? Frankly speaking, I happened to read in some Western publications about "luxurious life of the party elite".

The leader of the city party organization uniting over 130,000 Communists of the republic's capital, did not duck any of my questions. The first was about his salaries.

"I receive a monthly pay of 390 roubles. This is about as much as the salary of a skilled specialist at the Minsk tractor factory, from which I came to this office. Incidentally, my present salary is lower than the one I received at my last engineering post."

Vladimir Galko lives in a four-room flat where he moved in, working in the factory. The Galkos, husband and wife, share their flat with their 14-year-old son who prepares to enter a vocational school, daughter with her husband, a fitter at the tractor factory, and grandson.

I asked how functionaries of the party apparatus are provided with housing.

"As all other employees," replied the first secretary. "The final decision is taken by a trade union organization and a soviet of people's deputies. They take into account housing conditions of an applicant for a new flat and his attitude to work. I think that this approach is correct, since the state provides free the overwhelming majority of flats to the population. This means that such a factor as work should be also taken into account."

Regrettably, people fall ill sometimes. The Galko family enjoys medical aid of the city committee polyclinic. "But our railwaymen, big enterprises and organizations have similar polyclinics equipped no worse than ours," says the secretary.

How about an annual leave? "I have a chance of using a health-building centre," says Galko. "To get a voucher to it, it is necessary, as for any other person, to have a certification from a doctor in charge of my case record. However, I prefer not to visit doctors, though my workday rarely lasts less than 12 hours. I try to restore strength by walking strolls and by going in for sport."

It turned out that Vladimir Galko is an active popularizer of a healthy way of life in which he sees a chance to prevent many diseases pestering the present-day resident of a big city. "I keep under a special control a programme called 'health' recently drafted by the city authorities. It provides for building sport complexes, swimming-pools and organization of leisure in neighbourhoods," he said in conclusion.

Ukraine's Masol Views Changes, Nuclear Power

LD1908143088 Kiev in English to North America 2330 GMT 17 Aug 88

[Text] An all-round renewal of the Soviet society continues. Such practical steps of the Communist Party as democratization and openness, economic and political reforms, restructuring of the party itself and its activities will undoubtedly determine the destiny of multinational soviet countries, all its 15 union republics in the future. That was the subject of conversation of journalists with Vitaliy Masol, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukraine. Answering the question about practical results of the party's new policy, Vitaliy Masol in part said:

First of all, it became possible to drive the economy of the Ukraine, like of the entire country, out of the state of stagnation, to stop it slipping down to a crisis. During 2 years, for instance, the increase of volume of production and of labor efficiency has surpassed the tasks of the 5-year plan for 1986-1990. At present, in the Ukraine, the entire growth of the national income, the entire above-plan progress in industry and agriculture is obtained without increasing the number of workers.

Vitaliy Masol also said that more noticeable changes for the better have occurred in the social sphere of our republic. Beginning from 1986, almost R3 billion were additionally alloted for its development. Thus, for example, within 3 years, 10 million more square meters of housing will be built than envisaged by the plan. It means that in the Ukraine, 1 million more people will get new apartments.

Answering the question on what is hampering the restructuring process in the Ukraine, Prime Minister Vitaliy Masol says:

Many new undertakings experience resistance of the bureaucratic system which was formed in the previous decades. We intend to simplify the management bodies and reduce them by 86,000 people. Besides, we intend to abolish nine ministries and departments, said Vitaliy Masol. The middle link of management will be abolished almost completely. Sixty-four posts of ministers, chairmen of the committees, heads of department, and their deputies will be cancelled. Also, the number of officials of the ministries and departments in our republic will be reduced by 50 percent, said the Ukraine's prime minister.

The journalists were also interested in another vital problem which worries many people—and not only in the Ukraine. Isn't the network of nuclear power plants too dense in the Ukraine? they asked. The Chernobyl tragedy is still alive in the memories of people. Answering this question, Vitaliy Masol said:

The complexity of this problem for the Ukraine is in the fact that the volume of electric power produced at the thermal stations is not enough for the national economy of the Ukraine. They are also ecologically harmful. And though the development of nuclear power engineering is the only way for us, nevertheless, it was decided to stop construction of the Odessa and Kharkov nuclear power plants. In the Crimea, it was decided to build only one power unit. Presently under consideration is to stop the construction of one more nuclear power plant. However, in this I see another aspect, said Vitaliy Masol. It is necessary to take all measures for ensuring safety of exploitation of such stations. Our experts in nuclear power engineering are engaged in just that, said the Ukraine's Prime Minister Vitaliy Masol in his interview for journalists.

Ukraine Cooperatives Establish Union

LD2008153188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] At a constituent congress held in Kiev, the Union of the United Cooperatives of the Ukraine [soyuz obyedinennykh kooperativov ukrainy] has been established. It has assumed the task of elaborating documentation, selecting the areas for their activity and the defense of their rights, and has also taken under its guardianship all cooperatives in the republic. The union will summarize the experience of their work, develop recommendations of the utilization of reserves, and assist in improving material and technical provisions. Great importance is attached to the processing, storage and marketing of products, study of the market, defense of the rights of cooperatives, and providing them with legal aid.

Yeltsin Interviewed on Party Conference

AU2208105688 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Aug 88 p 2

[MTI report: "Boris Yeltsin Interviewed on the Soviet Party Conference and the Criticism Directed Against Him"]

[Text] "I do not consider myself to be guilty, either before the party or before the people, and therefore I have asked to be politically rehabilitated" Boris Yeltsin declared in the interview he gave to YURMALA. The former first secretary of the Moscow party committee spent his vacation in Yurmala in July and gave an interview to the local paper.

Expressing his opinion about the party conference, Yeltsin said that it would have been a mistake to expect the conference to solve all the accumulated problems overnight. Boris Yeltsin pointed out, however, that the conference did not fulfill all his expectations. He mentioned, among other things, that many speakers gave the impression that everything was in order, and this reflected the spirit of the period of stagnation rather than the spirit of restructuring. He expressed the opinion that, with the exception of the activity of the mass media and of intellectuals, one cannot yet feel a thorough restructuring. In his opinion it is necessary to improve the supply of food and services to the population in the coming 2 to 3 years, otherwise the process of restructuring will exhaust itself.

As in the opinion he expressed at the conference, in this interview Yeltsin did not welcome the fusion of party secretary and council chairman functions. As a Communist, however, he accepts the relevant party decisions, he added.

Answering the tough criticism he received at the party conference, Yeltsin said that one of the many people who wrote him letters proved with official statistics that the supply of food in Sverdlovsk was better than the average during Yeltsin's tenure as first secretary of the party there. Yeltsin added that Yegor Ligachev's speech did not reflect their different approach to individual problems, particularly to issues of social justice. Yeltsin rejected the accusations that he was a ruthless leader. He stressed that he did not want to undergo the same fate as Bukharin and Kamenyev, only to be rehabilitated later, as proposed by the chief editor of OGONEK.

Yeltsin said that he also read the samizdat versions of his speech delivered at the Central Committee meeting of October 1987 and said that these were not genuine, that only some ideas from his speech had been used. Yeltsin added that if the press had published the events in full there would not now be samizdat articles.

CPSU Paper Carries Election Regulations

LD1908205788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Excerpts] "Resolving the food issue is a political task" is the title of the editorial in the 16th issue of PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN, the magazine of the CPSU Central Committee that has just been released. [passage omitted]

It also draws the attention of readers to articles and instructions relating to holding the elections of leading party bodies, endorsed by the CPSU Central Committee on 12 August this year, which are being published for the first time. Here are some of its general provisions: The elections of leading party bodies are held in primary production shop party organizations containing less than 15 CPSU members, and in party groups, once every year; in primary and production shop party organizations having party committees and party bureaus once every 2-3 years; in rayon, city, okrug, oblast, kray party organizations, and in the Communist Parties of the union republics, once every 5 years. Two-three years after the report-back and election conferences and congresses [as heard], party conferences are held and are endowed with the right of partial—up to 20 percent—replacement of staff in the party bodies. That right also applies to the All-Union CPSU Conference.

In primary and production shop party organizations the elections of party committees and bureaus, and where there are none of these, of secretaries and deputies, are held at general party meetings. In individual cases in major party organizations, the elections of the party committees, with the permission of the raykom and the gorkom, can be held at party conferences. In the elections of all party bodies, from primary organizations to the Central Committee, the principle of the systematic replacement of their membership is observed, and the continuity of leadership is reviewed. In parallel with this, the period in the same elected office in party bodies for Communists from the raykom to the CPSU Central Committee is restricted to two successive terms. [passage omitted]

Railways Minister Comments on Wreck, Punishment

LD2008025488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1855 GMT 19 Aug 88

[From the "View" program; interviews by reporter Sergey Lomakin at Bologoye with Valery F. Seryy, deputy head of the Main Directorate for Passenger Services of the USSR Ministry of Railways, and Nikolay S. Konarev, USSR minister of railways; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Lomakin] In this building at Bologoye, the commission to render material aid to the victims [of the 16 August train wreck] is working. [video shows interior of a building, people, then shows Lomakin interviewing Y.F. Seryy]

[Lomakin] Valeriy Fedorovich, please tell me what specifically your group is doing.

[Seryy] Our headquarters is engaged in providing aid to the victims of this train—train No 159 on the Leningrad-Moscow run. To date, the number of dead is 28. The relatives of 22 have already arrived and we are expecting the arrival of the rest. We have already sent off nine comrades with their relatives. Those who arrived today and who are here with us, we will take care of today. I think that today or tomorrow we will have finally sent the victims from here.

[Lomakin] What sort of material assistance will be given?

[Seryy] Material aid is being given by the Ministry of Railways, by the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Rail Workers and by Gosstrakh [Main Directorate for State Insurance of the Finance Ministry]. The sum is thus: 500 rubles is being given by the Ministry of the Railways; 500 rubles by the trade union; and 1,000 rubles by the social insurance organs.

[Lomakin] And what about those people who are presently in the hospital?

[Seryy] Everyone in the hospital has been visited. In all there were 107 people. All of them have been visited and aid has been given both by the Railways Ministry and the Trade Union Central Committee. Aid has been given to each in the form of 200 rubles by the Trade Union Central Committee and 200 rubles by the Ministry of Railways. [video shows scenes of the accident]

[Lomakin, shown reporting from accident site] Well, as you can see, traffic has been restored already and trains are running, both to Leningrad and to Moscow. New rails have been laid here; the old ones will be set aside.

[Video shows Lomakin interviewing N.S. Konarev, USSR minister of railways]

[Konarev] Preliminary information on the reasons for the crash was completely confirmed today and there are no grounds for saying anything addition or to give any other version. The crash occurred as a result of gross violations of their duties by Krustale, who was acting as chief of this section of the line, and senior railway foreman Gavrilov. Without reason they cancelled a warning and did not take steps to remedy the faults that had been detected in the state of the track by a track monitor which ran along this section of track on 15 August.

[Lomakin] What will happen to them?

[Konarev] I believe they should be liable, most strictly liable, in accordance with the law, for the crime which led to human casualties, the mutilation of people, and great loss to the state.

Great inaccuracies were given on the "Vremya" program, inaccuracies which in my opinion are quite impermissible. The number of passengers who had boarded the train was given, and then another figure was given—that 500 people had left Bologoye after the crash, 107 had been hospitalized, and that the number of dead was being investigated. And then it was said that unfortunately the number of dead had increased, since two citizens had died in hospital. But anyone who can count....

[Lomakin interrupts] In all some 800 departed from Leningrad.

[Konarev] Eight hundred and twenty-seven people. Anyone who can count would immediately work out how many people's fate had not been established. And this figure...

[Lomakin interrupts] It works out to 220 people.

[Konarev] So it works out that the fate of 220 people had not been determined. And of course, people who heard of the crash took this to mean the number of dead. In this connection, I would like to stress that 28 died. The number who have left Bologoye is much greater than our comrades on the "Vremya" program said. Some 580 people immediately left after registering; 39 people traveled as far as Bologoye because they lived there. They emerged from the carriages that had come off the tracks and went home. Thirty-four people—a group of Brazilian tourists, incidentally all uninjured—were also included in the number whose fate was not established. And 42 people did not register. They left without registering. This was later confirmed by clarifications and inquiries from citizens about their nearest and dearest who had been traveling. It was established that way.

[Lomakin] Don't you feel that people's faith in the railways and particularly in the Ministry of Railways will be undermined, and [words indistinct] undermined by these disasters?

[Konarev] We are aware of this. And indeed, we do not conceal that our safety record is strained. We have had many instances of freight trains crashing and causing losses and interruptions in traffic. The Collegium and all transport workers believe that in this respect we are greatly to blame, and our very first duty must be to resolve this problem so that Soviet people need have no doubt as to the reliability of our system. This is our sacred duty.

[Lomakin] My next question is this: We have grown accustomed to the number one figure always bearing personal responsibility for any violations, in particular for this crash, this disaster. As railways minister, excuse me, but what punishment will you suffer?

[Konarev] I cannot say now what punishment I shall suffer in specific terms. But I am liable to the greatest punishment inasmuch as people in the industry I run have in this case turned out to be guilty, directly guilty. Therefore I bear full responsibility for their actions, and consequently for the failures in work which the Collegium and I as minister have permitted and which have led to this misfortune. But as for what the punishment will be and what the conclusions will be, they will be just. I am absolutely sure of that.

[Unidentified announcer in the studio] Sergey, you have been at the scene of the disaster and have spoken to many people, both victims and members of the commission investigating the circumstances of this accident. What conclusions can you draw?

[Lomakin] Well, above all I think that the 28 people who died in that disaster are not the last. That is, they are the latest figures we have, but the work is still going on and evidently there will be more, unfortunately. Of course, if we speak of statistics, several times more people die in car accidents. The minister provided me with the figure that in the first 7 months of this year, one passenger died on trains and nine were injured. How should we view that figure? Probably in comparison with other countries which do not have such an extensive rail network; that is a tiny number. Nevertheless, they are human lives. It is a disaster. I believe that what occurred on the 15th was a national tragedy. What is amazing is that what let us down is not the technology, not the equipment, which is perfectly reliable. What let us down is what I can only call a case of slovenliness. I can find no other word to describe it.

New Allowances for Youth Agricultural Workers

LD2108145188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Text] A decision of the USSR Council of Ministers on additional relocation allowances and measures for further improving the practice whereby young people receive the public's call to work in agriculture is carried in the press today.

The document pays specific attention to attracting and securing cadres in kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the non-Chernozem zone, Siberia, and the Far East, as well as the areas where virgin land is introduced to cultivation. The initiative of the Komsomol Central Committee on sending Komsomol youth groups, which would include experts in agriculture, popular education, culture, health, consumer services, physical culture, and sport to these farms, was approved.

Among the material measures, the following ones have been envisaged: Daily allowances are paid for each day on the road; wages are paid for the days of packing and settling in a new place. The length of service is counted on an uninterrupted basis for getting the corresponding allowances in addition to the wages, provided the beneficiary has been working without interruption at the same farm, as well as other allowances related to the length of service, as they exist in the new job.

With the leave of the council of the labor collectives new arrivals can receive allowances not exceeding 6 months' wages. A number of other relocation benefits have been also envisaged.

10,000 Polled on Perestroyka, Problems

LD2108211288 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Text] Following the study of a poll carried out in various parts of the country, experts of the Moscow center on studying public opinion have drawn the conclusion that the majority of Soviet people support perestroyka and look into the future with optimism. Nearly 10,000 people were polled. About half of those polled believe their life is going well, 48 percent think their life is satisfactory, and only 2 percent maintain that things are bad. Asked about problems which make their life more difficult, some 20 or 30 percent of the polled pointed to poor work of the service industry, urban transport, and shortage of certain consumer goods.

Popov Examines Party, Soviet Reform Plans

PM1808135288 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 32, 7 Aug 88 p 13

[Gavriil Popov article: "More Soviet Power Through Combining Executive and Party Positions"—passages in boldface as published]

[Text] The July plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee has mapped out practical steps to implement the resolution by the 19th party conference "On Democratization of Soviet Society and a Reform of the Political System". Among these steps are the preparations for a nationwide discussion this October of the draft law on the election of people's deputies of the USSR. The draft will of course contain the idea voiced during the party conference that it would be an advantage to nominate as chairmen of Soviets the first secretaries of corresponding party committees.

Hearing the proposal at the 19th party conference on combining the positions of Soviet chairman and first party secretary at all levels, my initial reaction was rather negative. I had changed my position by the end of the conference.

Some speakers voiced their negative attitude to the idea at the conference and in private discussions. I heard even more objections after the conference from people I rather respect. Many are still surprised when I tell them I have a different view.

In the course of the conference Mikhail Gorbachev had several hot debates with those who doubted the idea of combining the duties and he tried to explain the point and defend it in every way. Why?

Lenin's view of the concept of the separation of legislative, executive and control functions as being a mere legacy of the class system, a legacy that should be completely overcome by Soviets combining in the hands of the working people all three functions, is widely known. This did not work in practical terms, not because Lenin proved wrong, but because they failed to implement his fundamental idea—Soviets did not become **direct organs of the masses**, they became organs of **representatives** of the working people. As regards people's representatives, there should be a separation of functions rather than a combining of them, precisely so that the people can keep power in their hands. On more than one occasion we've paid dearly for having one person make, apply, and control implementation of, his own laws. Hence the rejection by many of any version of combined functions.

Undoubtedly, Mikhail Gorbachev, too, as a political figure who studied Lenin and the history of the country and the party, cannot but uphold **in principle** the idea of separating functions. And, as a law department graduate from Moscow University who studied the law of democratic states, Mikhail Gorbachev can only be, **in principle**, for all sorts of combining functions. Thus, to analyze the problem we should see how things work in practical terms.

I went to school in the village of Pukhlyanovka on the Don and finished secondary school in a place near Novocherkassk. Later, as I travelled around the country, I often wondered at the difference in the psychology of the Don Cossacks and residents of other areas. The differences are not rooted in history alone—all the great popular uprisings were started by the Cossacks (Bulavin, Razin, Pugachev) and in areas populated by the Cossacks. They are rooted in the democratic traditions of Russia's Cossack areas. They usually elected their chiefs, and had a special system of self-government, they changed chiefs and regarded this normal. And Mikhail Gorbachev is steeped in this tradition because he comes from the Stavropol Territory, which means that, at a purely personal level, psychologically, he in principle should not gravitate to any variants of absolute power.

So why then does the general secretary think the idea of combining functions so important for political reform? The very first speakers objecting to the idea were enthusiastically applauded at the conference. Some party secretaries applauded especially zealously, I thought. You would think that combining the posts would increase their power. Could they have become so democratic as to reject the idea on the above grounds? But why were the same people so distant from democratic ideas at the time of selecting delegates for the conference? There is something wrong here. Frankly, it was this stormy applause from a considerable part of the delegates that finally put me in favour of the combining of functions.

Let's look at the practical activities of a first secretary of a regional or city committee. Does he lack power? He does, perhaps, especially as regards his relations with "higher echelons". Would his position as a soviet chairman give him some additional powers? Is there anything today that might stop him guiding both the soviet and its executive committee? Have there been many confrontations? Is it difficult to make a party committee decision an executive committee or a soviet decision?

Most of these questions can be answered with a straight yes or no. One thing is sure: If the functions are combined, this **would not result** in any **real additional powers** for first secretaries.

It would be decidedly more difficult for them to keep the power they already have. Why? In the past, becoming a first secretary was a matter of being elected to the party committee at a district or city conference, to be followed in the party committee by a show of hands. The system usually went like clockwork. Today it is proposed that in order to obtain the **same** power you should go through the party procedure as well as through two constitutional procedures of elections to become first a candidate and then a soviet chairman.

In addition, this gives non-party people a **formal mechanism** with which to influence the apparatus and its executives. If a first secretary fails to win the elections to the soviet, he and part of his apparatus would have to be replaced by new people. So, purely inner-party matters would be placed under the control of the masses of working people.

The party conference approved the idea of competitive elections to soviets. The July plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee decided that, in practical terms, this should be incorporated into the Constitution: There can be no election if there is only one candidate. This would give the masses of people a greater say in influencing Communists to elect the right people as their first secretaries.

It looks like the local soviets will have economic power. They will have resources at their disposal and the heads of soviets will be objectively involved in the operation of the economic mechanism. As a matter of fact, complete separation of party bodies from the running of the economy is one of the most controversial problems of perestroika.

A first secretary would not have an apparatus as head of the soviet, the deputies in the soviet do not constitute an apparatus. It's easy to see that in emergencies he would probably rely on his party apparatus. As a result not only the secretary but the party apparatus, too, would be involved in practical matters of local governments.

Let's imagine two party leaders of higher and lower ranks having this exchange. The higher-ranking one says that the functions of party leadership should be changed, because, given the new system, it is inadmissible that party organs bearing no economic responsibility should run a staff whose pay depends on their performance. Yes, that's right, says the other, but I don't know how to do it. I am supposed to remain in control because the party holds power. The present position is abnormal but I cannot see what powers I have to shed to benefit the soviet. Whatever I give up, would make things even worse. Then the higher-ranking one says: Well, if that's so, if you want complete power, then take a post where your responsibility to the people is greater. But you'll get this position only if the party and then the people vote for you.

This may sound like a paradox, but in today's situation where elections to the soviets have been made democratic, the combining of functions would make popular control over the powers of first secretaries greater, and also motivate party members to ensure that they show more responsibility when they elect their first secretaries. They would have to make sure that their choices are equal to the job of both party secretary and head of the soviet.

Lenin was flexible as regards the combining and separating of party and government functions. In his last article "Better Fewer, But Better" he said: "How can a party institution be amalgamated with a soviet institution?... Is there not something improper in this suggestion?... Do we not all see that such an amalgamation has been very beneficial in the case of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, where it was brought about at the very beginning?" Lenin saw it as appropriate "to adopt this peculiar amalgamation of a party control institution, and he concluded: "I think that all doubts on this score arise in the dustiest corners of our government offices...."

As can be seen, Lenin's approach clearly did not rule out the idea of "combining" positions, although, of course, not all Lenin's recipes, often linked to the specific situations of that time, should be dogmatically applied today.

I have a number of suggestions on the implementation of the idea of combining functions. I think it would be right if chairmen of soviets were elected by popular vote rather than by members of soviets.

I think that regional party organizations could first elect several first secretary candidates at their conferences. And only after all the votes are in at the elections of chairman of the soviet, a special session of the regional party conference could finally decide on the first secretary. This would save party organizations the embarrassment of calling urgent elections to find another candidate to replace the first secretary who failed to be elected chairman of the soviet.

I think that the idea of combining functions could work at a lower level, too. It should be established that secretaries of party organizations chair councils of work collectives. This would strengthen the ties between work collectives and the party organizations, and make it possible for the entire workforce to have a hand in election of first secretaries by the party organizations. It would also make party organizations think about candidates for the election to chairmen of the councils of work collectives at factories, institutes and farms, and make it possible to find solutions to the now formidable problem of party control over administrations of enterprises on the basis of complete cost accounting and self-management. Party control will be exercised by someone elected both by the party members and the entire workforce through a democratic procedure.

Even without all these additional benefits, the idea of combining functions would help with the country's main problem—the dismantling of the deceleration mechanism. Such are the complex dialectics posed by the idea of combining functions.

Need for 'Whole Truth' About Stalin Emphasized

PM1908153388 Moscow TRUD in Russian
19 Aug 88 p 3

[Interview with writer Anatoliy Pristavkin by Natalya Popova under the rubric "Culture": "The Whole Truth"; date, place not given]

[Excerpts] I was not expecting anything in particular from the story "A Golden Cloud Spent the Night" ["Nochevala tuchka zolotaya"], although I had heard: "You must read it!" There are so many things we must read now! But I picked up the journal ZNAMYA to leaf through this very "Cloud," and from the very first pages I found myself in the grip of its world—the sorrowful and even tragic world of wartime, hungry, homeless childhood. A world of bloody cruelty, love, and selflessness. A world in which a person cannot hold out alone.... The story is about the need for human unity and fraternity, about the fact that even under the most inconceivable conditions a person is capable of infinite nobleness.

And here I am, chatting with the writer Anatoliy Pristavkin.

[Pristavkin] I wish, first of all, to say that a movie will be made of this story. From the dozen directors who wanted to film "Cloud" I have chosen Salambek Mamilov, an Ingush. He lived through the repressions as a boy, and that all entered his heart through his skin and blood. He remembers how peoples were resettled. Some were taken north, others south, but we were all children of one misfortune, of one unhappiness created by that move which was carried out by the supreme will of one man.

[Popova] Perhaps not everyone knows this, for until recently much was simply hushed up....

[Pristavkin] Yes, much was covered up. The decrees were secret. Nothing stopped Stalin. He evidently was a man with some definite sinister idea. In my view, his actions cannot be fully understood. But the moving of entire peoples is, in my opinion, a special form of violence against the person. We are posthumously restoring to existence those who were repressed and rehabilitating their memory, but it is more complex to deal with the peoples which suffered from such huge moves....

The fate of the Crimean Tatars is one result of a move.... I know that when some 10 years earlier the Tatars somehow filtered through to the Crimea, they were accused of violating the right of residence, although in the Soviet Union any citizen may acquire a house anywhere. But at that time a special passport regime was set up for people of Tatar nationality in the Crimea....

Such facts were not reported in our country.... We must now carefully, painstakingly, and patiently investigate such questions. And there is no way we can do without the public here. Nothing must be resolved in lobbies, still less such tangled questions as national ones....

[Popova] KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA wrote about this recently, about the fact that local authorities are now doing a great deal to resolve the problem of the Crimean Tatars. About the fact that, yes, there were both betrayers and traitors among the Crimean Tatars during the war years, but few people know how many of them also fought in the Crimean partisan detachments....

[Pristavkin] Few of us know that Tatars, local ones, were among the bravest underground partisans in the Crimea. There is evidence that they were groundlessly blamed for the military chiefs' bad organization of combat operations in the Crimea.

Or again, is it not absurd—I have received dozens of letters about this in my time—that monuments to Lenin in Uzbekistan were covered with sacks and screened by vehicles in order to prevent the Crimean Tatars living there from going up to them with flowers on the day of their autonomy—it turns out that they had started such a tradition. And the gravest fact is that the local population, which has long lived alongside the Tatars and considers them its own, was turned against them by someone....

[Popova] A report has been published by the state commission which examined statements received from citizens of that nationality. Much has been taken into account, and much is already being done....

[Pristavkin] Yes. But those who are fanning national enmity and spreading fabrications are trying to use the same methods as in the past. And there are inciters who are now deliberately endeavoring to increase national dissension in order to divert our society away from the sensible resolution of cardinal problems, away from restructuring and democratization.... [passage omitted]

[Popova] Anatoliy Ignatyevich, your story contains a scene in a bathhouse and a meeting with those who brought evil upon people at Stalin's will. You do not forgive them or hope for their repentance: "Rallying together in bathhouses or barrooms, they bring unwashed mugs together with a dull clink and drink to their health and their future. They believe that not everything is behind them...." Is it not the case that we just cannot rid ourselves of all the consequences of Stalinism because we will not speak the whole truth about it or name all those who committed crimes against the people?

[Pristavkin] We have begun naming some names. But we must not slide into new repressions. For that is how the heads of innocent people could once again roll. We always do everything to excess. But a public trial is, perhaps, necessary.... We must name those who are guilty before the people and before our society. If we do not get to the bottom of our distant and recent past, how will we educate our children? Untruthful adults cannot bring up truthful children.... If a child sees lies and violence around itself, it is inconceivable to bring it up normally.

[Popova] A certain section of people cannot hide their nostalgia for the past and their fear of truth and glasnost. They try to convince us that we are not yet "mature" enough to write about Stalin, that the time has not yet come, that we must wait. What is your attitude toward this?

[Pristavkin] People kept quiet about the lawlessness under Stalin because they were imprisoned and killed for trying to tell the truth. People kept quiet about Stalin under Brezhnev because there was no interest in glasnost or in any changes. Now they keep quiet because we are not "mature" enough and there are "no worthy talents." I could think up 100 more reasons. But there is just one reason why we must speak about Stalin and the mechanism of Stalin's rule: If we want to build a democratic, legal, public [glasnyy] society, we must tell the whole truth about ourselves. Otherwise, lies will be passed down from generation to generation, because there is no half-truth, there is truth and untruth. And children, seeing a half-truth cum half-lie, will be unable to develop as whole, free-thinking individuals. We will not make contact with young people, with the new generation. And if they do not believe us, they will not accept restructuring, which means it will be doomed to failure. People seeking to impose a ban on the truth are dragging us back. They are virtually undermining restructuring.... They want all acute problems of genuine democratization to be surrounded by secrets and bans, that is, concealed from the people....

Only the people must not be lulled to sleep but aroused to active life.

[Popova] Let us return to the letters you receive.

[Pristavkin] There are lots of letters. Former children's home residents write and speak about their life. Representatives of different nationalities write. People of very different trades write, but most frequently members of the intelligentsia.

They write that the Chechen-Ingush Obkom apparatus and the local press have given my book a negative assessment. In addition, Raisa Akhmatova, people's poetess of Chechen-Ingushetia, declared in the press that while local authors are dozing, outsiders are writing what they should not write at all. Such a division! She does not consider me her own but an outsider, although I am her colleague and we must be united by common humane ideas.

There are letters from anti-Stalinists and Stalinists. The Stalinists accuse me of "selling out to the CIA." One of them declares: "You are following in Solzhenitsyn's footsteps. I myself worked in a camp for 20 years, and I believe that vermin such as you should all have been hanged long ago...."

And a Foreign Ministry official asks me: Should we accuse all Stalinists of the crimes that were committed if they were just carrying out orders, that is, they were nothing more than cogs in the overall system? Any one of us would have done the same thing in their place, he claims. But I can reply to this: Yes, there were people who imprisoned people, and there were people who were imprisoned who did not want to imprison others. And they were, perhaps, imprisoned precisely because they did not want to imprison others....

[Popova] That is, a person can hold out against circumstances, offer up resistance, and preserve dignity even in a most inhuman situation?

[Pristavkin] Naturally. My story too, I believe, is an instance of resistance to ruthlessness and inhumanity....

Solzhenitsyn's 'Ivan Denisovich' Reread

PM1808134688 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 32, 7 Aug 88 p 11

[Lev Voskresenskiy article: "Hello, Ivan Denisovich!"]

[Text] I was standing in the crowd near the huge painting. "Mystery of the 20th Century", on display at the exhibition of Ilya Glazunov's works, now so popular in Moscow. People try to decipher the painting as if it were a riddle.

"See, it is Mao Zedong," a young man of 25 or 26 explains to his girl friend. "This is Bunin, I think. There's Kennedy. And that's the artist himself."

"It's Stalin in the coffin, isn't it? And who's that with the beard and such a wistful face?"

"That's..."

"It's the writer Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn," I said, helping him. "Have you ever read any of his books?"

"Are you kidding, where can I get them?"

Well, let's say you can, if you really want. Of course, his books are not available in our country, but the libraries have old copies of NOVYY MIR and you can look for the November 1962 edition.

"Looking through what was written in 1962," critic V. Oskotskiy recently wrote in NEVA Magazine (No. 6), "it is neither right nor serious to pretend to have heard nothing in those years about A. Solzhenitsyn's One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich."

That's true! The story was like a bolt from the blue, there was so much talk about it. The name of the 44-year-old man from Ryazan, unknown to anyone until then, had become a house-hold term.

To those Soviet readers under 40 who, today, can get hold of Life and Fate by Vasiliy Grossman and Children of Arbat by Anatoliy Rybakov, it is very difficult to understand what the appearance of a book "about camps" meant in the 1960's.

Just imagine the situation in the early 1960's. Many thousands of people had already returned from Magadan, Norilsk, Vorkuta, Dzhezkazgan, Akmolinsk, Ivdel and other places. The barbed wire surrounding construction sites at Moscow University on Lenin Hills, Siberian industrial plants and grand hydroelectric power stations has been removed. The 20th and the 22nd party congresses have taken place. The statues and busts, bas-reliefs and high reliefs, paintings and photographs of the leader have vanished. But no one ever uttered a word in prose and poetry about the Stalin and Beria inferno which millions of our people passed through. Neither the tortured, the executed, the killed or those who survivied uttered a sign, a moan or a cry in those times.

Solzhenitsyn was the first to talk about this openly—in NOVYY MIR, run by Aleksandr Tvandovskiy. One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich was the title of his short novel.

Ivan Denisovich Shukhov, the main character, is prisoner Shch-854. A peasant, then a private in the Red Army, he was captured by the Germans and escaped after two days. For this, he got ten years in Stalin's camps, as a "traitor of his country". The question that life then posed for him was: How to survive? He replies not with words, and not by philosophizing; he simply works from dawn to dawn, making no allowances even for himself. His answer: to go on doing useful work without respite, whatever may happen, that's all. If you survive, everything will take its usual course.

In that sense he is akin to such remarkable characters of modern prose as, say, Belov's Ivan Afrikanovich (The Usual Case) or Mozhayev's Fedor Kuzkin (The Living): They are similar in age, origin, skill and fate; is it of any importance that they live (survive), work and suffer on different sides of the barbed wire? On a postwar collective farm, or in a camp—everywhere life is bitter.

Describing the inferno, Solzhenitsyn showed real life. He did not set himself the aim of threatening the reader with camp horrors, although he could easily have done this. First of all, Solzhenitsyn acted as a writer. So, it is hard to agree with V. Shalamov, who wrote that the camp theme "will incorporate 100 writers like Solzhenitsyn, five like Leo Tolstoy. And there will be room for everyone". Without belittling the merits of any of the books on this subject (the more so, the merits of their authors), still, they can't all be compared with Solzhenitsyn's, not even with his other books.

The last lines of the 66-page story are unique!

"Shukhov went to sleep fully contented. He'd had many strokes of luck that day: They didn't put him in the cells; they didn't send the team to the settlement; he'd pinched a bowl of kasha (porridge) at dinner; the team leader had fixed the work report; he had built a wall and enjoyed doing it; he'd got that bit of blade through; he'd earned something from Tsezar in the evening; he'd bought that tobacco. And he hadn't fallen ill, he'd got over it.

"A day without a dark cloud. Almost a happy day.

"There were three thousand six hundred and fifty three days like that in his stretch. From beginning to end. Three extra days because of leap year."

In that memorable autumn of 1962, together with the name Shukhov, words unknown to many people, and very familiar to others, words never used in literature, became current: zona (zone), zek (prisoner), stukach (informer), vertukhay (timeserver), pridurok (a prisoner who tried to get a job in the kitchen or some other profitable place)....

There was a time gap between the action of One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich and the date of its publication—a little over ten years. So, among the most interested readers were former zeks and vertukhays. Those whom the author called Tsezar Mnarkovich and Kavtorang read it and recognized themselves. It was read by former prison escorts and guards, retired heads of camps and informers. Lieutenant Volkovoy (or his prototype), described in the story, probably didn't have time to rise to the rank even of major, and even if he had been fired from the broken-up MGB [Ministry of State Security (1946-1953)] and had not yet worked to the age of civil prisoner, he, too, had read Ivan Denisovich. By the way, I can well believe that this issue of MN also finds this lieutenant of the Beria era still alive.

In short, one can imagine how diverse the range of readers' emotions: from sincere admiration of the book and the author to extreme hostility.

Then followed a whole series of stories, novels, memoirs—in open periodicals, but more often in Samizdat (underground publishers) version. Some authors believed that Solzhenitsyn did not describe the picture in all its ghastly reality, and tried to fill in the gaps. Others, on the contrary, suggested the idea covertly but persistently that Kolyma, though not the Cote d'Azur, was not as bad as it had been painted, and that there were very nice people among the investigators and guards.

We readers always compared the horror described in other books with Solzhenitsyn's writings: "This is a harsher book...nonetheless Solzhenitsyn..." and so on.

Under Brezhnev the camp theme was banned: As if there were no zeks, no Ivan Denisovich, no Solzhenitsyn....

Today, 25 years after the publication of the famous story, you begin to realize how credulously we made use of it as "standard information". Its chief merit is not the theme. Unfortunately, very few people (and the first among these few was Tvardovskiy) realized that Ivan Denisovich was to be assessed not only as a "document about camps," but as an outstanding event in the literary, moral and spiritual life of an awakening society. Anyone who saw it only as a political sensation, a "bomb", a "topical subject" overlooked its essence. This is particularly clear now, when the publication of stories about zeks and zonas no longer astonishes us. The story proved to be broader than the theme, it developed beyond the theme.

Leo Tolstoy once said: You can write a multivolume history of mankind, but you can also (and this is even better) write the history of an ordinary day in the life of an ordinary peasant—from morning till evening. It will be just as valuable. He was about to write such a history himself, but this plan was not realized. I don't know whether Solzhenitsyn set himself this aim, but he realized Tolstoy's idea more perfectly and completely than anyone, I believe, in our literature.

The ordinary day of Ivan Denisovich replied to the most tormenting question of our uneasy age: What should be done in order, as Boris Pasternak put it, "not to give up the individual in oneself"? How should we live in order to ensure than, under any circumstances—even in the most extraordinary ones, in any circle of the inferno—we remain human beings, independently thinking individuals, acting with responsibility? How can we keep our dignity and conscience, and not betray ourselves? Having been through hell, how can we hold out and resist shifting the burden of our fate on to the younger generation?

NOVYY MIR published the story with a short note from the editor-in-chief. Reading it you again realize how forward-looking Aleksandr Tvardovskiy was.

"This harsh story is yet another example of the fact that there are no areas or phenomena of modern life which can be outside the sphere of a Soviet writer today, or too difficult for truthful description. The question is, what are the possibilities at the writer's disposal?

"This story brings us to another simple and instructive conclusion: The very significant content, the loyalty to the great truth of life and the profoundly human approach, even to the most difficult subjects, couldn't help but give rise to a special literary form. Ivan Denisovich is vivid for its everyday conventionality and outward modesty, it is unassuming and, therefore, full of inner dignity and strength.

"I don't want to anticipate the way the readers will asssess this short story, although it is clear to me that it marks the arrival of a new, original and quite mature master into our literature."

It is neither the time nor the place to judge the creative work of Solzhenitsyn as a whole, or his views. I'm only asserting what, in my opinion, has been sufficiently checked and proved by the past 25 years: One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich is an outstanding and epochal accomplishment of Soviet literature.

A work of genuine literature is always consonant with the times. Here is an episode from Ivan Denisovich: Shukhov is marching in a column of zeks and, recalling his wife's letter, thinks about this strange business of the "painters" who had shown up in his native vililage. They paint wall carpets using stencils and make a real fortune. He thought of going into that business as soon as he was released.

"But, candidly, he didn't want to turn to carpet-painting. For that a man needed to be free-and-easy with people, brash in manner, to know how to grease a palm or two. And though Shukhov had trodden the earth for 40 years, though he'd lost half his teeth and his head was growing bald, he had never either given or taken a bribe, nor had he learned to do so in camp.

"Easy money weighs light in the hand and doesn't give you the feeling you've earned it. There was truth in the old say: Pay short money and get short value. He still had a good pair of hands, capable hands. Surely, when he was out, he would find work as a stovesetter, as a carpenter or tinker."

You read about how much we need such wise minds and capable hands today in the eighties. You feel the urge to say "Hello, Ivan Denisovich! I wish you good health for many years!" as if he were alive.

Moscow Celebration Marks Church Millenium

PM1908111588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Celebration of Millenium of Russia's Christianization"]

[Text] The celebration of the millenium of Russia's Christianization in the Moscow Diocese began 16 August with a celebratory service in Moscow's patriarchate Cathedral of the Epiphany. Similar services have been held in a number of dioceses of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Soviet Union and abroad. The cathedral service was led by Synod member Metropolitan Yuvenaliy of Krutskiy and Kolomna. Taking part in the service with him were Metropolitan Vladimir of Rostov and Novocherkassk, other archbishops, and numerous clergy from the Moscow Diocese.

In the afternoon those taking part in the celebration gathered in the House of Unions Hall of Columns. At a ceremonial session here to mark the historic event a message was read out from Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and All-Russia to those taking part in the celebration of the millenium of Russia's Christianization within the Moscow Diocese.

"I share with you the joy of this great event," the message says. "The heart of our motherland is Moscow; it is also the heart of our church." The document stresses the importace of historical monuments, churches, streets, and squares which preserve the stories of the joys and sorrows of a great people.

"The jubilee has coincided with beneficial changes taking place in our country," the message says. "The expansion of democracy, restructuring, glasnost—all this has also touched church life. We rejoice in this and urge the children of the church by their zealous labor to bring closer the all-around renewal and development of our society. Our Christian service and civic activeness should serve the cause of the salvation of those close to us, the welfare of our compatriots, and peace throughout the world."

A report delivered by Metropolitan Yuvenaliy of Krutskiy and Kolomna, who heads the Moscow Diocese, was devoted to the history of the establishment of Christianity in Russia, its role in the development of statehood and culture, and the importance of the Moscow Diocese, founded in 1320.

The session was attended by representatives of soviet and public organizations of Moscow City and Moscow Oblast and figures of science and culture.

A concert at which religious hymns were performed was organized for those taking part in the celebration.

Briefs

New Lithuanian TV Broadcast

"Panorama of the Week" is the name of a new television broadcast in Polish which Lithuanian television will now be broadcasting on Sundays. In the first program there is a meeting between viewers and its editors, a report on the restoration of Old Vilnius, in which Polish specialists are involved, and up-to-date information on harvest progress, new goods, and cultural events in the republic. The Polish program will help to more fully inform Lithuanians who speak that language about the more important events in that union republic. [Text] [*LD2108051988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 20 Aug 88 LD*]

Economic

Call To Implement Komsomol Economic Rights

PM1908120188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by A. Zverev under the "On Topics of the Day" rubric: "The Komsomol and Commerce"]

[Text] IZVESTIYA has already written frequently about how many barriers have to be overcome by young people with a socially valuable initiative or useful but unexpected idea to see them implemented. On the enthusiasts' path are "legally binding acts"—all kinds of departmental instructions, provisions, and normatives; and the formalism and overt playing safe of the powers that be. A mass of difficult problems arises such as, for instance, where to get premises and the necessary equipment, who to go to for legal protection, how to defend the right of one's club (or center) to independence under the new conditions of economic management.

Perhaps the following has been not least among the factors delaying the development of young people's initiative: the idea of Komsomol work as being organizational work, work involving meetings, work alien to social experiment.

A substantial amendment to this obviously obsolete method of operation was introduced by the Komsomol Central Committee December (1987) Plenum, which discussed the concept of expanding the Komsomol organizations' opportunities in resolving a number of social and economic tasks. In June this year the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers adopted a resolution "on expanding the Komsomol's foreign economic activity."

And recently a new legislative document—the USSR Council of Ministers resolution "on assistance in the Komsomol's economic activity" registered as number 956—came into force and will serve as the basis for creating the economic law mechanism for the implementation of young people's socially important initiatives. Actually, the Komsomol has already acquired an instrument for implementing virtually any ideas—within the framework of the youth cooperative or scientific and technical center right up to the organization of economically accountable [khozraschetnyye] auxiliary production facilities based on the fuller use of equipment, waste, and secondary raw material. On the agenda is the creation of fundamentally new organizational formations—such as the joint stock company for instance. For example, a protocol on the creation of an all-union joint stock company for the production of children's games and toys was signed at the Komsomol Central Committee recently. The Lenin Children's Fund, the Culture Fund, the Peace Fund, the Committee of Soviet Women, and the DOSAAF Central Committee have already expressed the desire to become members.

It is interesting that all five points of the new resolution discuss only rights granted to young people. In particular the resolution legalizes the Komsomol Central Committee proposal for creating staffs of voluntary labor associations. Their aim is to help young people to find work and to render operational services to enterprises and organizations.

Another fact is also of some importance: The Komsomol becomes the only mass sociopolitical organization to have received the right to engage in foreign economic activity. Here goods and other items imported to the USSR by Komsomol enterprises and organizations or sent to them from abroad are exempted from customs duty and taxes.

Finally, under the new resolution Komsomol enterprises and organizations have been granted the right to determine independently or on the basis of contracts the prices and rates for the paid services they offer, including the organization of concerts and lectures.

Well, the time has indeed come for the multimillion detachment of young people to switch from debating and struggling for their rights to implementing them. They have in their hands documents which open up serious opportunities for displaying initiative and independence.

Agricultural

Nagorno-Karabakh Crop Problems Cited

LD2008223888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Report from Nagorno-Karabakh by "Our Special Correspondents" V. Pidchenko and V. Molachanov, identified by caption; individual questioners cannot be identified—recorded; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Farms in Nagorno-Karabakh have finished harvesting early grain crops. Of course, the breadgrain fields here in the hills 1,500 meters above sea level are not so generous as they are in low-lying areas. However, the winter wheat and barley yield has been high this year in the autonomous oblast as a whole. Some fields have yielded 30 or even 40 quintals of grain per hectare. The last to complete the breadgrain harvest were mechanizers at the Karl Marx Kolkhoz in Askeranskiy Rayon. [video shows interview between correspondent and farmers in field]

[Correspondent] You usually finish the grain harvest considerably earlier than this. What has kept you back this year?

[Unidentified farmer] The weather kept us back this year. We had heavy rain and high winds.

[Correspondent] We have been told that a great deal of grain has piled up on the threshing floors. What is keeping it from being sold to the state?

[Farmer] Our planned amount is 10,000 tonnes. We have started and I think we will complete the plan for selling breadgrain to the state soon.

[Correspondent] How much grain has piled up on the threshing floors then?

[Farmer] We have sold 2,500 [unit not specified]. I think that in about 3 or 4 days we will complete the plan.

[Correspondent] So problems regarding grain sales...

[Farmer, interrupting] We do not have any problems. [video shows sheds containing grain]

[Correspondent] Incidentally, here is another peculiarity of this year's harvest in Nagorno-Karabakh. The yield is higher than ever but farms are reluctant to sell their breadgrain to the state, preferring to leave it on the threshing floors in their own oblast.

[Correspondent] How much breadgrain has been sold up until now?

[V. Mamedov, chief of the planning department of the Agdam breadgrain combine, identified by caption] To date somewhere around (?2.014 tonnes) of wheat has been sold while the (?figure planned) is 7,370 tonnes.

[Correspondent] What about barley?

[Mamedov] The plan for barley was (?2,090 tonnes).

[Correspondent] And only 2 percent has been sold.

[Mamedov] That is right. Only about (?58 tonnes) has been sold so far.

[Correspondent] And what is the class of the breadgrain? What is the quality being sold?

[Mamedov] Over half of it is of poor quality. But if they sold it immediately, over 80 percent of it would be of valuable varieties.

[Correspondent] Do you have the capacity to receive the breadgrain without these holdups?

[Mamedov] We do. (?We work long days here.) [word indistinct] work. We say we would work weekends, even at night, whenever they want; we are ready here. All the elevators are ready and so are all the workers. If only they would bring it, as much as they want. We can take it today.

Grain Harvest Data For Mid-August Reported

PM1908145588 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 19 Aug 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Harvest Rhythm"]

[Text] By the middle of August, the USSR State Committee for Statistics report points out, grain and pulse crops (excluding corn) had been cut on 62.3 million hectares, of which 58.9 million hectares had been threshed—which is 54 percent of the crop area. Some 56 percent of the crops have been harvested in the RSFSR, 92 percent in the Ukraine, 75 percent in Belorussia, 18 percent in Kazakhstan, 82 percent in Lithuania, 60 percent in Latvia, and 51 percent in Estonia. The main harvest area has shifted to the Russian non-Chernozem Zone, where 45 percent of the grain crops are still standing, as well as to the Trans-Urals Region, Siberia, and Kazakhstan. Harvesting is only just beginning there.

Grain sales to the state in compliance with the state order are continuing. However, this important work has slowed up. In the week under review RSFSR farms, for example, sent 2.5 times less grain to the elevators than in the previous week.

Corn for grain has been harvested on the first 32,000 hectares. Flax has been pulled on almost half the crop area. Harvesting of vegetables, potatoes, fruits, and berries is getting under way. The foundations are being laid for the next harvest. Winter crops have been sown on 3.9 million hectares—1/10th of the plan. Fall plowing has been carried out on 9.5 million hectares—9 percent of the plan target.

Agricultural Developments for 17-20 Aug

LD2108031788 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, from 17 to 20 August. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

17 August:

Over half of the sown area of grain has been harvested. Grain and pulse crops around the country as a whole have been cut over 62 million hectares and threshed on almost 60 million hectares. In other words the gap between cutting and threshing is minimal, which significantly reduces harvest wastage. Kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agro-industrial enterprises are energetically selling grain to the state. Approximately 5 million tonnes more has been procured than last year and the quality is better. However, harvesting and procurement of grain is lagging on kolkhozes and sovkhozes of Kazakhstan, Georgia, Armenia, Kirghizia, Checheno-Ingushetiya, and Altay. Harvesting of potatoes, vegetables, flax, and other crops is continuing; and 64 million tonnes of hay has been taken in, which is ¾ of the plan. The plan for hay has been 93 percent fulfilled. On the the whole preparation for the winter period on farms around the country is going better than last year, although fodder procurement is continuing to lag on farms in Kazakhstan. Sowing of winter crops is proceeding. They now cover almost 4 million hectares—that is, 10 percent of the plan. Farms in many areas, including Siberia, are striving to expand the winter crop area, and to sow better varieties there, since that is economically more advantageous than growing spring crops. (1100)

18 August:

Mass sowing of winter crops has started in Volgograd Oblast. This year the oblast has sold over 1 million tonnes of strong grain to the state. (1400)

The biggest harvest of cereal crops in the recent years has been achieved in Uzbekistan. The plan of wheat and barley procurement has been overfulfilled there by more than 20 percent. (0204)

19 August:

Ryazan Oblast farmers are mass sowing winter grain crops. This year wheat and rye will take up 400,000 hectares in the oblast. North Ossetiyan ASSR farms have begun harvesting potatoes. (1100)

Winter grain crops are now being sown in the Chuvash ASSR. They will be sown on 150,000 hectares, a quarter of the grain crop area. The main crop will be rye. (1100)

Farm machine operators from the Kuban have arrived in Smolensk Oblast to work in the nine rayons that have suffered most from the frequent rains. The cereal harvest situation in the oblast is difficult. The grain has been flattened and the ears are falling off. On the remote, economically weak farms there was no one to help, so the assistance from the Kuban is welcomed. (1950)

The last combine harvesters have left the grain fields of Belgorod Oblast. The threshing of early cereal crops has been completed on the entire area of around 700,000 hectares. (0204)

Sowing machines have replaced combine harvesters in the Volgograd fields. Mass sowing of winter crops has started there. In all, cereal crops are being sown on more than 103 million hectares.

Due to daily rain, at the moment ½ of the harvest is completed in Estonia, but yields are low—18 to 20 quintals per hectare. (1440)

In Chuvashiya, 80 percent of the harvesting is done and sales plans will be fulfilled despite low yeilds of 19.4 quintals per hectare. (1440)

20 August:

Almost 650,000 tonnes of grain have been put into storage facilities by the farms of Tambov Oblast. (0204)

The harvest in Latvia is nearing completion. Three-quarters of areas have been harvested now. Unfortunately, there will be less grain than expected and less than last year, but nevertheless the harvest will average 23.8 quintals per hectare. This is approximately 1.5 times the national average. (0400)

Kokchetav Oblast: Grain is being gathered on more than 2.5 million hectares; 97 percent of those working in the fields are under lease contracting.

Scientific

'Gorizont' Communications Satellite Launched

LD1908144388 Moscow TASS in English 1425 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 19 TASS—On Thursday the Soviet Union blasted off another Gorizont communications satellite.

The satellite was put into a near-stationary orbit with the following initial parameters: distance from the earth's surface—35.772 km, period of revolution around the earth—23 hr 55 min, orbit inclination—1.3 degrees.

Instrumentation installed on the Gorizont satellite operates smoothly.

Diplomat Says 'Cosmos 1900' No Danger

LD1908121688 Hamburg DPA in German 1053 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Excerpt] Bonn (DPA)—The Soviet Union has acted to quell fears that its marine observation satellite "Cosmos 1900," equipped with a nuclear reactor, represents a danger of radiation. There is no radio contact with the satellite, but it is able to continue its set orbit according to plan until October. Leonid Valevich, space expert and first secretary at the Soviet Embassy in Bonn, gave this assurance to journalists in Bonn today.

By October the satellite will have gradually fallen to an altitude of 120 km. The nuclear reactor will then be put into an 800-km orbit, where it will represent no real threat, by an automatic system. In case this automatic detachment system does not function, the nuclear material will automatically be released from the satellite when the remains of the satellite becomes hotter through greater friction, and it will burn up completely in the denser layers of the atmosphere. This would occur without any significant raising of the natural level of radiation.

The diplomat stressed that a prediction of the time and place of the reactor and its remainder entering the atmosphere could be made after the automatic separation function. The Soviet Union would of course fulfill its obligations in accordance with the International Atomic Energy Organization's convention on the notification of nuclear accidents "committedly and honestly." [passage omitted]

'Mir' Cosmonauts Continue Experiments

LD1908133188 Moscow TASS in English 1310 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 19 TASS—A space flight of the Soviet cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov on board the Mir orbital complex is going on.

Experiments with the use of the scientific instruments of the Kvant module feature prominently in the flight program. Several sessions of the study of astrophysical objects in various wave ranges are held every day. Yesterday the cosmonauts surveyed separate sections of the sky near alpha Ophiuchus with the help of the ultraviolet Glazar telescope. Today the telescopes of the roentgen observatory will conduct observations of the roentgen pulsar in the crux constellation.

In accordance with a program of the study of natural resources of the earth and of its natural environment, a schedule for today provides for visual observations and the photographing of the southern areas of the USSR, specifically the Krasnodar region, the Azov Sea and the Black Sea coasts.

For the purpose of a further study of mechanisms of the generation of high-energy particles in the near-earth space, the program includes another series of experiments with the use of the Maria magnetic spectrometer.

Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov will have a day-off tomorrow. They will clean up the premises of the space station and have a rest. They both feel well. The flight is going on normally.

Preparations for USSR-Afghan Flight Continue

LD2108225588 Moscow TASS in English 2021 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Text] Kabul August 21 TASS—The forthcoming joint Soviet-Afghan space flight will be an event of great importance for Afghanistan and a new step towards developing its traditional friendly relations and cooperation with the Soviet Union, Aslam Watanjar, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and Afghan minister of communications, told a press conference held here today.

He emphasized the fact that the flight would be taking place in the year of the 10th anniversary of the April revolution. The work of the Soviet and Afghan cosmonauts will, undoubtedly, play an important role in developing Afghan economy and science and will have a big economic and political effect.

Watanjar said that the preparation for the joint flight had been launched last year and that a great deal of work had been done over that short span of time. Soviet and Afghan scientists and physicians held regular consultations and worked out a well thought-out flight's programme.

According to the Afghan minister, one of the main tasks of the orbital research will be the space photography of Afghanistan territory. That will help to discover new mineral wealth deposits and water sources, specify the country's geological map, find the most suitable place for building major irrigation projects and predicting the centres of possible earthquakes.

Watanjar said that Afghanistan would actively participate in the intercosmos international programme after the flight's end.

Military

Yefimov Speaks on Air Force Day

LD2108170988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1050 GMT 21 Aug 88

["Speech by Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yefimov, commander in chief of the Air Force, USSR deputy minister of defense, twice hero of the Soviet Union, and marshal of aviation," on the occasion of USSR Air Force Day, 21 August—live or recorded]

[Text] Dear comrades, the Soviet people have been marking USSR Air Force Day since 1933. It has entered our lives as a brilliant nationwide holiday, a review of achievements in the development of the wings of the people, which is how Vladimir Ilyich Lenin described aviation. His name is linked with the entire history of the emergence and development of the Soviet Air Force. Born in the heroic days of the Great October Revolution, it has traveled a glorious combat and labor path. Today it justifies with honor the multifaceted purpose for which it was destined. The first air detachment, which founded the Red Air Fleet, was formed on 28 October 1917. In the process of its emergence, our Air Force proceeded along the same stages as the Red Army. In a 20-year period—which was exceedingly brief, historically speaking—military aviation became a mighty means for the armed defense of the socialist fatherland. In the 1930's, our homeland earned fame as the leading air power in the world. Contributions to this were made, in particular, by the first landings in world aviation history of aircraft at the North Pole; the extralong-distance flights of the legendary crews of Chkalov and Gromov; the combat deeds of internationalist fliers in the skies over Mongolia, Spain, and China; and the regular flights of Aeroflot, which was established in 1923, not only on domestic routes, but also to a number of countries of the world. Responding to the party's call to fly farther, faster, and higher than anyone else, Soviet fliers won 37 percent of world aviation records in the prewar period. Every such breakthrough in speed, distance, and altitude also raised, on the wings of the airplanes, the prestige of our country.

The creation and development of Soviet aviation was not a chain of uninterrupted victories and triumphs, however. There also were difficulties, shortcomings, and tragedies on this path. The Soviet people surmounted them and tirelessly strengthened the Air Force. The farsightedness of Soviet aviation technology policy—the accelerated development of military aviation—was convincingly confirmed by the Great Patriotic War. Having overcome the unfavorable situation and failures in the initial period of the war, the Soviet Air Force subsequently fulfilled its operational and strategic tasks successfully, both independently and jointly with the other armed services. Resolute massed air operations exerted a great influence on the progress and outcome of frontline and strategic operation, and played an important part in victory over Hitler's Germany. Of 77,000 enemy aircraft destroyed on the Soviet-German front, 57,000 were scored by our airmen in combat operations. They inscribed many vivid and heroic pages in the history of the Great Patriotic War. I would say that for airmen, the war has become a sort of performance standard. Soviet airmen boldly joined battle with the superior forces of the enemy. They carried out rammings, pointing their burning planes at concentrations of enemy troops and combat equipment. A total of 2,420 airmen were invested with the title Hero of the Soviet Union. Sixty-five of them received the title twice. The whole world came to know the names of the Soviet flying aces Pokryshkin and Kozhedub, three times heroes of the Soviet Union.

Along with the airmen of the Air Force, air defense, and naval aviation, a considerable contribution to routing Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism was made by civil aviation. Many subunits of the Civil Air Fleet were made guards units or received honorary titles. The combat friendship of Soviet, Polish, Czechoslovak, Bulgarian, and Romanian airmen was born and grew in strength in the skies of the front line. This friendship continues today in the combat formation of the airmen of the Warsaw Pact countries. French airmen of the illustrious Normandy-Neman regiment flew on combat missions with us, wing to wing. All generations of airmen will remember with gratitude the feat of the workers of the home front, whose lives were dominated by the single thought: everything for the front, everything for victory. They supplied aviation with everything necessary in the most difficult of circumstances. In the war years, our industry produced more than 112,000 military planes, and the peoples of the union republics gave the Air Force more than R2.5 billion in private savings, which was used to build 2,565 aircraft. Such were the wings of the truly great multinational friendship of the peoples of the USSR.

The country's Air Force came out of the war even stronger and more battleworthy. Since the Great Patriotic War, Soviet aviation has made an enormous qualitative leap in its development. Today, it is an aviation of supersonic speeds, of great ranges, as well as a broad range of altitudes. The Air Force is equipped with the most modern technology. One example of this will be presented at the international air exhibition in England in September—the modern frontline MiG-29 fighter, which is in no way inferior to the best U.S. fighter models. The present generation of Soviet military airmen, who are continuing the heroic traditions of the frontline servicemen, has inherited their profound love for the sky and for flying, and their lofty sense of responsibility for the security of our motherland. The equipment and techniques of airborne battle change, but there is no change in the creative and intense nature of the Soviet air fighters' service, which requires tremendous personal performance and sometimes genuine heroism as well. The names of peacetime aviator heroes are well known in the country. They include airman Yeliseyev, the first man in the history of jet aviation to ram a violator aircraft in a high-speed fighter; Air Force Major General Antoshkin, who was in charge of actions by military airmen in the sky above Chernobyl; Lieutenant-Colonel Raelyan, who was recently awarded a hero's star for courage and valor in performing his internationalist duty in Afghanistan; and Air Force Major General Pavlov, a delegate to the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

The growth of the Air Force's role in guaranteeing the country's defense and the fact that it is armed with modern aviation systems inspire airmen to storm new heights, enhance their professional training, and maintain constant readiness to conduct active and decisive combat actions. The situation in the world also obliges them to do so. Although there are obvious positive changes in that situation, guarantees of their irreversibility have yet to form. Creating these guarantees is the goal of the activity of our Communist Party and the Soviet state, which are establishing the new political thinking and a policy based on it in the international arena. This process was further developed by the new and sweeping proposals on reducing troops and armaments in Europe and on reducing military-political tension in the world, expressed by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev during his recent visit to the Polish People's Republic. The socialist countries' readiness to continue a peace-loving and constructive course in international affairs was demonstrated by the Warsaw conference of the Political Consultative Committee.

The danger of human civilization being annihilated, however, has not yet been ovecome. Imperialist reaction has not renounced its strong-arm military policy. It is natural that all this is taken into account in our defense construction, including in the state of the Air Force. It must be ready and able to fulfill the combat tasks entrusted to it at any moment and in any situation.

This year, Soviet Air Force Day is being celebrated at a time marked by a great creative upswing and by tremendous responsibility for the implemetation of the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. The main task set before us at the party conference was to insure that priority is given to qualitative parameters, both in technical equipping and in the training and education of personnel. Proceeding from this and in an atmosphere of truthfulness, glasnost, and increasingly severe evaluation criteria, Air Force personnel are currently seeking the most effective ways to a qualitative solution of all existing tasks. In the process of making the restructuring more profound and of renewing all aspects of life in Air Force units and formations, a new moral and psychological atmosphere is taking shape. The policies of the July 1988 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee have entered airmen's lives as a combat program. Having armed themselves with partywide experience, military councils, commanders, political bodies, and party and Komsomol organizations are persistently holding a course of developing the personnel's creative activities and of refusing to tolerate stagnatory phenomena and violations of flight safety requirements. A reassessment is being made of the activities of military cadres and their ability to successfully solve complex combat-readiness tasks and to work in an atmosphere of democratization and glasnost. A tried and tested means of improving the quality of combat training and the education of Air Force personnel and of developing initiative and creativity is socialist competition, which is being held this year under the slogan: Selfless martial labor, exemplary service, and the very highest discipline are our contribution to the cause of defending the motherland. Its initiator was the air bomber regiment commanded by Colonel Moskayev. Words of praise also are deserved by the Air Guards unit under the command of Guards Colonel Gribeynikov; on the eve of the holiday that regiment was awarded the Order of Lenin.

Today, while noting the positive changes in the life of many military collectives in the Air Force and making exacting assessments of what has been achieved, one cannot fail to mention the omissions and shortcomings we have not yet managed to eliminate. It is not yet everywhere that we are acting in the spirit of restructuring; that words are backed up with vigorous, concrete, and practical deeds; and that the inertia of old approaches and habits is being resolutely overcome. The tasks of making the restructuring and democratization process more profound and of raising the role of the human factor in all our affairs lie ahead. Over its more than 7 difficult decades, the Air Force has accumulated rich and priceless experience which is used actively in reinforcing its combat potential. Possessing enormous strike power and the ability to reach any point on earth, the Soviet Air Force has never been used, nor ever will be used, as a weapon for intimidation or blackmail. If, however, an aggressor attacks our fatherland or our friends, an inevitable and hard-hitting blow awaits him in retribution.

Dear comrades, on behalf of the military council and the political directorate of the Air Force, I cordially congratulate you, aviation veterans, air servicemen, toilers of the aviation industry and of Aeroflot, amateur fliers, and all Soviet people on the splendid traditional holiday of Soviet Air Force Day. I wish you and your families sound health, happiness, and new successes in renewing and perfecting Soviet society. On this festive day, airmen, navigators, engineers, and all aviation specialists assure the Central Committee of Lenin's party, the Soviet Government, and our people that they will spare no effort to ensure the necessary level of combat readiness, that they will fulfill their patriotic and internationalist duty with honor, and that they will reliably stand guard over the gains of socialism and the sacred boundaries of our great motherland.

Reception Honors Memory of Marshal Zakharov

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["Our correspondent" report: "Memorial Soiree"]

[Text] A reception devoted to the 90th anniversary of the birth of an outstanding military figure, Twice Hero of the Soviet Union and Marshal of the Soviet Union M.V. Zakharov, has been held at the Central House of the Soviet Army. Marshal of the Soviet Union S. Akhromeyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, opened and chaired the reception.

Army General M. Kozlov delivered the report on the life and activity of Marshal of the Soviet Union M.V. Zakharov. The speakers at the reception—Marshal of Artillery Ye. Boychuk, Marshal of Aviation G. Zimin, and Fleet Admiral N. Sergeyev—shared their memories of Matvey Vasilyevich Zakharov.

The reception was attended by prominent Soviet military leaders, Great Patriotic War veterans, Moscow garrison servicemen, and relatives and friends of M.V. Zakharov.

Akhromeyev Remarks

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[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] The public in our country is currently marking the 90th anniversary of the birth of Marshal of the Soviet Union Matvey Vasilyevich Zakharov, twice hero of the Soviet Union.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent G.Sedov] [Passage omitted] Marshal Zakharov distinguished himself as a talented strategist, a profound theoretician and a skillful commander of military operations. [passage omitted] For more than 10 years Marshal Zakharov was chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces.

An evening of remembrance for Matvey Vasilyevich Zakharov at the Central House of the Soviet Army was attended by his comrades-in-arms, prominent military commanders, generals, officers, and young servicemen.

[Marshal of Aviation A.P.Silantyev] I worked for a lengthy period of time with Marshal of the Soviet Union Zakharov, in the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany and at the General Staff. He remains in my memory as someone with an exceptional capacity for work and exceptional humanity.

[Admiral of the Fleet N.D.Sergeyev] I remember him as a great military commander, a great theoretician, a person to be emulated from the point of view of performing one's military duty.

[Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces] A chief of staff at any rank is above all a person who organizes the fulfillment of decisions of a commander, a commander in chief, and one who coordinates the activity of all the staffs. We have much to learn from Marshal Zakharov's staff service and the way he conducted it, both in war and in peacetime.

[Sedov] All who spoke said that the name of Marshal Zakharov was linked with glorious pages of the building of the Soviet Armed Forces, their many victories in the war years, and the strengthening of the Army and Navy in the postwar period. [end recording]